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ABSTRACT

The monograph examines reasons for declining placement of people with disabilities reported since 1970 by vocational rehabilitation programs. It begins by briefly noting the changing face of industrial society and suggests the need to reexamine traditional concepts of work as paid employment. The effects of new technologies are traced, along with changes in the distribution of occupations, changes in working conditions and the organization of work, changes in attitudes toward work and the meaning of work. The origins and evolution of British vocational rehabilitation are noted, and trends revealing the accumulation of a large pool of long-term unemployed disabled people are cited. The final section addresses the future of the British vocational rehabilitation system, noting the need for improvement in four areas: assessment and intervention methods appropriate to a post-industrial society, increased services to underserved portions of the disabled population (e.g. disabled women, disabled people in rural areas), increased attention to the social and economic context in which services are provided, and use of more sophisticated planning and decision making aids. (CL)

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28 THE FUTURE OF WORK FOR PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES: A VIEW FROM GREAT BRITAIN

by Paul Cornes

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World Rehabilitation Fund

International Exchange of Experts and Information in Rehabilitation

MONOGRAPH NUMBER TWENTY EIGHT

THE FUTURE OF WORK FOR PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES: A VIEW FROM GREAT BRITAIN

by
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PREFACE

The International Exchange of Experts and Information in Rehabilitation in the last year of a three-year grant from the National Institute of Handicapped Research is very pleased to have this outstanding piece by Paul Cornes as one of its final entries in the WRF monograph series for the 1981-84 period. It is our sincere hope that Cornes' work along with the very thoughtful commentaries prepared by Donald Galvin, Michigan State University; John Noble, Virginia Department of Mental Health and Mental Retardation; and Sheila Akabas, Columbia University School of Social Work, will stimulate thinking in many arenas and will find its way to many readers who will use the information and new ideas to develop further their own ideas and action plans concerning the future of work for people with disabilities.

Paul Cornes is Senior Research Fellow in the Rehabilitation Studies Unit at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. In 1976, he was appointed director of the Employment Rehabilitation Research Centre in Birmingham, England, where he headed a multidisciplinary team which undertook a five-year program to evaluate the effectiveness of the national vocational rehabilitation service and to make recommendations regarding its future development. He is author or co-author of several publications in criminology and rehabilitation studies including *Employment Rehabilitation: the Aims and Achievements of a Service for Disabled People*, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1982. He has contributed to a number of official working parties which have reviewed different aspects of services and policy on the employment of disabled people in Great Britain and has been a member of the Royal Association for Disability and Rehabilitation Employment Committee. He also serves on the International Council of Psychologists' Committee on Disability and Rehabilitation and the Council of the Society for Research in Rehabilitation.

Mr. Cornes also served as a collaborator/respondent in the March 1983 meetings and seminars which were sponsored by World Rehabilitation Fund on WRF Monograph #16, *The Clinical Attitude in Rehabilitation: A Cross-Cultural Approach*, by Joseph Stubbins; another publication resulted from those discussions and was co-published by WRF, National Rehabilitation Counseling Association and the *Journal of Applied Rehabilitation Counseling*. Copies of this publication, *The Clinical Model in Rehabilitation and Alternatives*, are still available from WRF and NRCA.

We would like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to all those who have been involved with and supportive of the International Exchange of Experts and Information in Rehabilitation over the past six years. We especially wish to acknowledge and thank our three project officers at NIHR over the past six years: George Engstrom, Mary Catherine Jennings,

and more recently, Helga Roth. For a listing of all of the monographs and fellowships which have been sponsored by WRF's International Exchange of Experts and Information in Rehabilitation over the past six years, please see the last few pages of this book.

Diane E. Woods, Project Director
International Exchange of Experts
and Information in Rehabilitation
August 1984

INTRODUCTION

During the International Year of Disabled People, the Secretary General of Rehabilitation International published a global review of policies and programs for the employment of people with disabilities (Acton, 1981). This noted that most countries have some form of vocational rehabilitation policy or service and identified some model policies and programs. However, it also noted that, generally, existing efforts have not succeeded in securing for people with disabilities a fair share of employment opportunities and suggested that demographic, social and economic changes now taking place in both industrialized and developing countries will present yet more formidable challenges to disabled people seeking work, as well as to vocational rehabilitation policies and programs.

How well prepared is vocational rehabilitation for possible future changes in the availability, nature, organization, meaning and valuation of work? This essay presents an opportunity to share with a wider audience a concern that vocational rehabilitation is not adapting as readily as it should to the new demands of a post-industrial society. Norman Acton has contended that "We continue to plan for yesterday and try to overcome the deficits of a decade ago." His concern for a more proactive approach to policy decision making has been reinforced by more recent arguments for more adequate resourcing of appropriate policy studies (Stubbins, 1982; Woods et al., 1983). Ideally, these should go beyond traditional concern to enhance professional skills or to improve agency efficiency and effectiveness to examine the wider context within which vocational rehabilitation services are provided. In exploring the implication of different scenarios on the future of work, both for the employment of people with disabilities and for vocational rehabilitation policies and services, the present essay seeks to identify some of the themes that would be relevant not only to future-oriented policy studies but also to future practice.

As is so often the case, the bibliography is only a token of my indebtedness to others. I would therefore acknowledge helpful comments and advice from other sources, including Professor Cairns Aitken and colleagues in the Rehabilitation Studies Unit, University of Edinburgh, and all who responded to a shorter version of the essay presented at the International Symposium on the Employment of Disabled People: Economics and Equity, arranged by the University Center for International Rehabilitation, Michigan State University in May 1984.

Paul Cornes
Edinburgh
July 1984

THE CHANGING FACE OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

The picturesque town of Ironbridge occupies that part of the Severn Valley, called Coalbrookdale, where the river has carved a gorge through the Shropshire hills. The surrounding countryside, framed by these "blue remembered hills" as they are so aptly described in A E Housman's verse, presents one of the least spoilt, idyllic aspects of rural England. All considered, it is difficult to imagine a more unlikely 'birthplace' of the Industrial Revolution. Yet it was here, in the early eighteenth century, that Abraham Darby experimented with the substitution of coke for charcoal in iron smelting, a technical innovation which was essential to the development of the modern steel industry.

Today, Coalbrookdale is a centre of tourism, not industry. Darby's accomplishments are marked only by relics of the early industrial age his technical achievements helped to create. Examples include the cast iron bridge which still spans the river and from which the town has taken its name; iron tombstones in the local churchyard and an internationally acclaimed, open-air, industrial archaeology museum. Since Darby's pioneering work freed iron smelters from dependence on forest fuel, paving the way for migration to the coalfields, the landscapes of industrial society were located elsewhere—in Pittsburgh, the Ruhr or the English Black Country.

After some one or two hundred years of development and expansion in these locations there is mounting evidence that industrial society has reached the threshhold of other technological breakthroughs whose economic, social and political significance may be as momentous as those which occurred in Darby's time. Throughout the industrialized world, new science-based industries are poised to assume command over the high points of the economy in much the same way that manufacturing superseded agriculture in the transition from pre-industrial to industrial society. It is quite possible that, sooner or later, the trappings of modern industrial society could become as much an object of historical interest to future generations as Coalbrookdale is to our own.

This trend is already apparent in those regions of Western Europe which have been most affected by the slump triggered off by the mid-1970s oil crisis and by the Draconian measures that some governments have taken to deal with the economic crisis. In some of the valleys of industrial South Wales, for example, there are now about as many coalmines serving as tourist attractions as there are in production, with the valley communities clearly hopeful that tourism will replace at least some of the jobs lost through the decline or disappearance of traditional industries. Moreover, with structural unemployment already embracing one in every five or six adult males; with new technologies and automated procedures helping to increase productivity and to contain unit production costs but not generating nearly enough jobs for

those displaced from declining industries or for young people about to enter the labour force; with widespread dependence on unemployment benefit or low incomes preventing accumulation of a sufficiently large surplus of income over essential expenditure to assist development of a service sector in which new jobs might be created, and in the absence of reflationary policies which would help to achieve this objective, South Wales provides a good illustration of the forces at work in many of the traditional heartlands of industry society not only in Great Britain but across Western Europe.

Although coal was first extracted from the South Wales valleys many centuries ago, mining on a large scale was not undertaken before the nineteenth century, when the development of steam power encouraged the exploitation of these resources. By the turn of the century the region was a leading producer, with record tonnages of anthracite and steam coal exported throughout the world. Coal also attracted industry, stimulating the manufacture of tinplate, iron and steel and enabling South Wales to make significant contributions to British manufacturing output during two World Wars and through the following periods of economic reconstruction and boom.

Since the late 1960s, however, much of the life blood of this industrial economy has been drained. This is apparent in the ports which handled the coal exports and through which raw materials for local industries were imported. Docks have been allowed to silt up and their coal loading apparatus has been dismantled, along with the marshalling yards where the coal trains once queued. The industrial hinterland has fared no better. Decline of tinplate manufacture has been followed by a more recent decimation of the steel industry. Only two steelworks remain open, both operating on much less than full capacity. Mining has been hit equally hard, with just a small fraction of mines in this once busy coalfield still in production.

As might be expected, problems associated with the decline of major industries have had run-on effects for the rest of the community, affecting the economic viability of ancillary manufacturing and commercial activities. In the most blighted towns and villages, every other male of working age is out of work. The social and psychological consequences of recession are therefore also apparent. Hopes for a brighter future are tempered by the knowledge that many traditional industries may have disappeared for good, following their relocation to developing countries. In other instances, overseas competition, supported by a combination of subsidies, higher productivity and lower wage levels and, hence, lower unit production costs, or domestic competition from other regions with, for example, lower transportation costs have become disincentives to new industries and a reason for the closure of others which started up in more favourable times.

While there are limited prospects of new jobs in burgeoning 'sunrise' industries or in a very slowly developing service sector, most new vacancies are filled by women. Thus, with no economist willing to forecast an early end

to the high level of structural unemployment in such regions, the majority of those who have been made redundant are being compelled to come to terms with a future which holds little prospect of paid employment, either for themselves or their sons. For some, family income may be provided or supplemented by the earnings of wives and daughters. For most, though, there may be little to look forward to beyond dependence on unemployment benefit, with occasional periods of casual work or deployment on government sponsored job creation schemes.

These brief references to Coalbrookdale and industrial South Wales serve two purposes. Firstly, they are a reminder of the comparatively recent origins of industrial society and of the scale and pace of associated economic, social and political changes over the past two hundred years. No study of this period would be complete without reference to developments it has witnessed in finance, industry, commerce, science and technology; to the equally significant, later developments in provision for education, health care and social welfare, including special provision for marginal groups or disadvantaged citizens; or, given the increasingly complex and finely balanced relationship between wealth producing and revenue consuming sectors of industrial societies, to the growing importance of government's role in the housekeeping of national resources.

Secondly, reference to history may also serve as a reminder of the equally recent origins of modern work habits and attitudes to work. It should not be overlooked that, apart from its demographic consequences (migration and urbanization) and influence on social structure (the economy, technology and the distribution of occupations), the Industrial Revolution wrought profound shifts in cultural and political spheres of life. Who is to say that the emergence of a post-industrial society will not exert an equally profound influence on the nature and organization of work or on the work ethic in which industrial society has placed so much store?

Most commentators are agreed that the advent of science-based industries and application of new technologies are already affecting not only working conditions and the organization of work but also the nature of job opportunities and demand for labour. This is apparent from long-term trends and in sectoral shifts from traditional manufacturing activities—textiles and shipbuilding are examples—to the service sector or new industries in the fields of microtechnology or biotechnology. It is also apparent in changes in working hours and other conditions of employment; in declining demand for unskilled and semi-skilled manual labour in manufacturing industry and for low grade 'white collar' workers; and in the proliferation of temporary or part-time employment and job creation schemes which have followed in the wake of structural unemployment. Looking ahead, while presently there is an increased demand for technical, scientific and professional skills, the spread of automation and introduction of fifth generation computers may

cause many skilled manual, higher echelon 'white collar' and middle management occupations to be equally at risk.

Scenarios of the latter type have led other commentators to anticipate yet more fundamental changes, affecting the meaning of work itself. For example, studies of job satisfaction suggest an increased preference for more leisure time at the expense of higher wages. Other studies of communities which have had to cope with structural unemployment, and hence to adjust to life without paid employment, suggest that the people involved are beginning to distinguish between unpaid work and paid employment and between the right to an income (or social wage) as opposed to the right to work. Such distinctions present a challenge to the social, political and economic foundations of all industrial societies, whether capitalist or socialist. They also draw attention to some potentially very difficult problems for future economic and social policies and programmes.

If labour market changes are having such general effects, what might they hold in store for some more marginal groups, including those with disabilities, or for vocational rehabilitation policies and services? As Leslie Fiedler has pointed out (Fielder, 1982), the literature of almost every culture reveals the power of stereotyping and scapegoating in promoting social rejection of citizens with physical and mental impairments or disabilities. Even though most societies have taken some steps to help them overcome such handicaps and to assist their social and economic integration, the recent *International Year of Disabled People* highlighted the need for continuing effort to modify discriminatory attitudes and practices and to devise more effective policies and programmes to ensure their fuller pariticipation in the labour market as well as in other spheres of life.

Of course, in every society there are individuals whose impairments or disabilities have not prevented them from pursuing highly successful careers or, in a few celebrated instances, from attaining even the highest offices of state. But their achievements should not be allowed to obscure the problems encountered by other disabled citizens. Nowhere, it would seem, have those deemed capable of holding down a full-time job in normal competition with their non-disabled peers achieved a reasonable share of such employment opportunities. Labour market statistics generally reveal marked disparities between the proportions of disabled and non-disabled people of working age in employment and also that, once unemployed, disabled jobseekers experience much greater difficulty than their non-disabled counterparts in finding alternative employment (Bowe, 1983; Colledge and Bartholomew, 1980; Manpower Services Commission, 1978; 1981; 1982). Other research suggests that, for many disabled people, a job does not necessarily guarantee an end to discrimination or disadvantage. For example, it has been shown that disabled people are over-represented amongst those whose physical or mental health is impaired by work-induced stress and that they are more likely to be

required to work longer hours for lower rates of pay and to do so more often under less favourable working conditions (Townsend, 1979).

Evidence that people with disabilities continue to experience such handicaps prompts questions regarding the effectiveness of vocational rehabilitation policies and services. Although, in many cases, the origins of such policies and services can be traced to strongly felt social obligations to encourage or otherwise assist employment of veterans who were wounded on active service during the first World War, their development in most western nations was firmly tied to and shaped by plans for post-war economic reconstruction at the end of the second World War. To the extent that it comprised an aspect of this Keynesian strategy for managed economic growth, requiring the fullest mobilization of the labour force (including such previously marginal groups as the disabled), it can be claimed that vocational rehabilitation was very much a creature of the industrial society Keynes aimed to create. Indeed, there is evidence that vocational rehabilitation may have made quite significant contributions to the post-war economic recovery and the period of economic growth which followed by helping many of its clients to find employment—though mainly as unskilled or semi-skilled factory workers, in lower grade 'white collar' work or in some of the least attractive and less well paid service occupations.

After 1970, however, this record of achievement began to fade. Declining placement statistics since that time attest to the problems vocational rehabilitation services have had to cope with as Keynesian strategy has faltered in the face of world recession, the decline of traditional industries, rising levels of structural unemployment and the challenge from new science-based industries, whose technologies and production methods require a much smaller and more highly specialised labour force. That the effects of recession have been most keenly felt in those labour market sectors in which vocational rehabilitation clients have been most readily placed therefore poses questions not only about the scope and effectiveness of such policies and services over the past decade and the extent to which they have adapted to changing demand during this period but also concerning their preparedness for the yet more dramatic changes in the nature, organization and meaning of work which are expected to accompany the more fully fledged emergence of a post-industrial society.

As long as a sincere commitment to the social and economic integration of disabled people is retained (and there is no special reason to jettison this principle), any consideration of the future of work should pay attention to their particular needs and circumstances. This essay seeks to make a contribution of this kind by exploring the implications, both for the employment of people with disabilities and for vocational rehabilitation policies and services, of some very different views on the future of work.

THE CONCEPT OF WORK

The work ethic is so central to all modern values and systems of belief—religious, social, economic or political—that it has acquired a taken-for-granted status. As most of us spend a large amount of time at work, and depend on that activity as a source of self-esteem or as a means of defining social position, this is not too surprising. Nor is it surprising that, as a result, it is commonly believed that only knaves or fools would try to avoid the dual obligation that the work ethic imposes on everyone to fend for themselves and to contribute to the common good. Its apparent ubiquity is also suggested by the influence it exercises even over non-workers—for instance, in using wage-based yardsticks for the determination of appropriate levels of benefit and income maintenance payment for those who are judged to be too young, too old, too disabled or too ill to work and who, incidentally, have always comprised the overwhelming majority of social security recipients.

The all-pervading nature of the work ethic has possibly inhibited appraisal of its rather narrow scope. It has, for example, taken much persistent pressure from the women's movement to make the simple, but all too easily neglected point that not all work is done in the course of paid employment or business on one's own account. Its taken-for-granted status may also have discouraged more searching analysis of how work is regarded in other cultures or how it has been viewed at other times. Certainly, the ancient civilizations of Greece and Rome placed no great value on any form of work except a period of military service for young men. Work was for slaves, whose labour enabled the ancient Greeks and Romans to pursue the obligations of good citizenship, and the ideals of truth and virtue. Even the peasants of the Middle Ages tended to regard work as being more a necessity than a virtue. For them, as in some more primitive societies today, living was too precarious and time-consuming to warrant a distinction between work and non-work activities. There being little point in working to produce a surplus without adequate storage facilities or efficient transportation, any free time was devoted to celebrating their much higher number of high days and holy days.

Today's view of labour as a commodity to be bought and sold emerged later, in response to a combination of developments which took place between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. These included improved methods of communication and transportation; changes in systems of land tenure and agricultural practice which forced many people to move from the countryside to towns; the introduction of a money economy; technological innovations and development of the factory system of production. Both R H Tawney and Max Weber have offered explanations of how protestant theology was used to reinforce the new ideologies or laissez-faire economics and mercantilism on which this new industrial society was founded, and hence

how our modern conception of work as a duty which each citizen owes to a healthy economy originated.

The novelty of this conception of work as paid employment is illustrated by the problems which eighteenth century industrialists and entrepreneurs encountered in making their workforce adjust to the demands of the factory system. The Staffordshire potter Josiah Wedgwood, for example, assembled his workforce mainly from agricultural labourers and small-holders who resided in surrounding villages. They were therefore people who were accustomed to subsistence agriculture and the rhythm of the seasons rather than the tempo of production work in the Etruria factory. As might be expected, many found adjustment to employment under factory conditions difficult, obliging Wedgwood to take several different steps to help them come to terms with these new conditions. For example, cottages were built on land around the factory to facilitate travel to work and to encourage regular attendance. In addition, to ease the transition from subsistence living, each cottage was located in a plot large enough for the worker to grow his own produce.

But these inducements were quickly found to be inadequate. Contemporary records show that Wedgwood had cause to lament his employees' poor time keeping and attendance, especially on "black Mondays," and that, eventually, he had to resort to installing a factory bell to summon them to work as well as to more punitive sanctions like dismissal. These records also reveal the extent to which employers like Wedgwood encouraged religious observance as a means of reinforcing newly acquired work habits and attitudes to work. In the case of the Potteries, Primitive Methodism, inspired by the preaching and teaching of Hugh Bourn and strongly supported by local manufacturers and municipal authorities, therefore, also played its part in converting the inhabitants of Arnold Bennett's five towns into a productive industrial community, whose enterprise and skills over the past two hundred years are now renowned throughout the world.

In periods of economic growth and full employment there is probably little reason to query the legitimacy or validity of the concept of work as paid employment in the interests of self-maintenance and the creation of a healthy economy which has predominated since the Industrial Revolution. At the present time, however, many countries are experiencing levels of structural unemployment which have not been witnessed since the depression of the 1930s and which, in some cases, exceed even those levels. With the application of new technologies reducing demand for labour in old industries and minimising demand in new ones, most economic forecasters are not predicting an early return to full employment. Others are less hopeful, suggesting that new technologies will break the link between the creation of wealth and the creation of employment which has been maintained in industrial societies since the eighteenth century.

The possibility of life without paid employment is beginning to be taken so seriously in some quarters that arguments are now being made concerning the need formally to acknowledge the various forms of unpaid work that many unemployed people are performing in place of paid employment. In this context, the right to an income, or social wage, has become as important an issue as the right to a job.

Should future economic growth not be accompanied by a return to full employment, the need to augment or replace an economic valuation of work as paid employment by a broader social valuation which also embraces work that is presently unpaid could become a major political issue. If so, it will be one of particular concern to groups like the disabled, whose rates of labour market participation have always been relatively low. With this in mind, we can now turn to a more detailed look at some of the principal axes of change in the labour markets of industrial societies and at some of the scenarios for the future of work which have been drawn from this evidence.

LABOUR MARKETS IN TRANSITION

In historical terms, today's pattern of employment is of comparatively recent origin, reflecting the impact of the Industrial Revolution and the related transition from pre-industrial to industrial society. Even this pattern has changed over time in response to improvements in the efficiency of agriculture and industry and an expansion of service sector occupations. The stability of this pattern is now thought to be at risk, with development of new science-based industries and application of new technologies threatening to accelerate rates of change and presaging quite different patterns of employment. The likelihood of such changes occurring can be considered from five perspectives: sectoral changes and the impact of new technologies; the distribution of occupations; the organization and nature of work; structural unemployment; and attitudes to work and unemployment.

Sectoral changes and the impact of new technologies

The Industrial Revolution was accompanied by population growth and a movement from the countryside to the new industrial towns. Whereas beforehand most of the British population were involved in subsistence agriculture and related occupations, within a century less than half were so employed. Sustained improvements in farming methods and productivity have since reduced that figure to its present level of around one per cent. Those displaced from agrarian pursuits were mainly absorbed by the expansion of industry which, from the mid-nineteenth century to the late 1950s, became the main source of employment. From the beginning of this century, however, "scientific management," new mass production methods and, latterly, automated procedures have helped to improve industrial efficiency

and output and to stimulate expansion of a service sector which has now superseded industry as the economic sector in which most people work.

In some countries, like the United States, the shift from manufacturing to services was well established before the onset of the recession which has dominated the world economy since the mid-1970s. For various reasons, such countries have weathered this economic crisis better than those which were not so advanced. For example, apart from isolated pockets like the Appalachian region, unemployment in the United States has not reached the levels experienced by most Western European countries. Countries with better developed service sectors have also found fewer problems in introducing the various new technologies. Less advanced countries, including many in Western Europe, however, have had a different experience—some might say the misfortune—of having a period of world recession coincide with opportunities to launch new science-based industries and to implement new technologies. The problems involved in trying to make such changes at a time of high structural unemployment, can again be illustrated with reference to Great Britain.

The accompanying tabulation of official employment statistics over the past two decades (Central Statistical Office, 1984) reveals the extent to which such sectoral changes have occurred during this period.

Number employed (millio[illegible]y economic sector 1961-1981

Sector	1961		1971		1981	
	Number	per cent	Number	per cent	Number	per cent
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	0.7	3.2	0.4	2.0	0.4	1.6
Mining, quarrying	0.7	3.3	0.4	1.8	0.3	1.6
Manufacturing	8.5	38.4	8.1	36.4	6.1	28.0
Construction	1.5	6.7	1.3	5.7	1.1	5.3
Public utilities	0.4	1.7	0.4	1.7	0.3	1.6
Services	10.4	46.7	11.6	52.4	13.4	61.9
Total	22.2	100.0	22.2	100.0	21.6	100.0

It shows that, with one exception, the number of people in each labour market sector fell in both absolute and proportional terms, with a marked shrinkage in the manufacturing sector. The exception is the service sector which expanded quite noticeably, from embracing 47 per cent of all jobs in 1961 to 62 per cent in 1981. But this picture is not complete unless reference is also made to the number of people available for employment and to what is known about trends in the manufacturing and service sector since 1981.

With unemployment rates consistently around 2 or 3 per cent throughout the decade, the statistics for 1961 and 1971 are reasonably indicative of the size of the labour market as a whole. Later figures, however, are much

less reliable for this purpose. The statistics for 1981, for example, exclude the very high number of unemployed. This increased from 0.7 million in 1971 to 2.5 million in 1981, and has since exceeded 3 million. When unemployed people are taken into account, the number of people available for employment in mid-1984 would exceed 24 million. But even this figure might be an underestimate of the number who could, and probably would, work under more favourable economic conditions. It has been estimated that, if account was to be taken of the effects of the government's decision to make registration as unemployed voluntary rather than compulsory, inducements to older workers (including many with disabilities) to withdraw from the labour market, the numbers involved in government sponsored youth training and temporary employment schemes and the number of women who might have entered or re-entered the labour market under more favourable conditions, the total number of unemployed people in Great Britain would be about one and a half times the present officially recorded level of 3.1 million (Field, 1982) out of a commensurately larger number of people available for employment of about 25 million. Such calculations suggest a real rate of unemployment of around 18 or 19 per cent as compared with the official national rate for 1984 of 13 per cent.

In better times, a restructuring of industry involving a shedding of labour and the implementation of more efficient production methods might have been achieved with much less opposition from workers and without any reduction in output. This has not been achieved in some countries, including Great Britain. One reason for this is that, in most Western European countries, contraction of employment opportunities in the manufacturing sector has not been matched by an equivalent expansion of the service sector. In Great Britain in 1982-3, for instance, an 18 per cent decrease in the number employed in the manufacturing sector was actually accompanied by a 2 per cent fall in the number working in service occupations (Central Statistical Office, 1984). When evidence that many new service sector vacancies and jobs in new industries like microelectronics have been filled by women and other new entrants to the labour market, and that most job losses have therefore been full-time posts for men while most job gains have been part-time posts for women, is also taken into consideration, it is not too surprising that the restructuring of manufacturing industry has not proceeded without some opposition from employees and trades union organizations. Had structural unemployment been lower, the transition might have been smoother. It might also have been achieved without loss of manufacturing output which, in Great Britain's case, has yet to be restored to pre-1979 levels.

Results of this painful process of adjustment are evident not only in unemployment statistics and in poor industrial relations in the most vulnerable industries but also in the very fabric of industrial society. For example, the city of Birmingham was once justifiably proud of its reputation as an engi-

neering and manufacturing "workshop of the world." Visitors to that city's industrial quarters today, however, would be quite hard-pressed to find contemporary evidence of such activity, being much more likely to notice the forest of 'For Sale' and 'To Let' signs on vacated factory premises. But not all the signs are so pessimistic. On the brighter side, there is other evidence that a new phoenix may be emerging from these ashes. The restructuring of industry has already yielded dividends in the form of higher productivity and enhanced competitiveness for its products in world markets, and new industries in such fields as microelectronics, communications, information technology and, albeit to a less marked extent, biotechnology have become quite well established.

As might be expected, revitalisation of industry—the creation of leaner, fitter, more competitive operations—has not been achieved at nil cost. In most cases, the price paid is most readily measurable in the number of job losses incurred. Between 1979 and 1984, for example, the introduction of automated procedures and other technical improvements in Great Britain resulted in a halving of the number of industrial plants with more than one thousand employees from just over 1,000 to around 500. Recent developments at the British Insulated Callender's Cable works in Manchester (Large, 1984) illustrate other differences between old and new styles of manufacturing industry. Located alongside an established plant employing a workforce of 450 on the manufacture of copper cable, there is a small team of 33 engaged on round-the-clock production of the optical fibres which are expected to replace electric phone cable by the end of the century. In just a few years, this capital intensive product has proved to be much more profitable than its labour intensive counterpart and has already covered its initial investment costs. Although it is planned to upgrade the old works and to continue with cable manufacture for some years to come, it is clear where the future lies and what implications it holds for employment prospects both in this industry and in others which are developing along similar lines.

It is now quite evident that jobs lost from the manufacturing sector will not be recreated and that the trend towards employing fewer people in this sector will continue. As Stonier (1983) has pointed out, eventually technology will kill far more jobs than it can create, because companies that do not automate will lose competitiveness and go out of business and those that do automate will not provide jobs. Where service sector employment was more firmly established before the onset of world recession and the advent of new industries and technologies, jobs for those displaced from traditional industries and for new entrants to the labour market tended to be found in commerce, finance, government, transport and communications. But the revolution in the factory has since been accompanied by a revolution in the office which has made many of these clerical and other 'white collar' jobs as vulnerable to the impact of new technologies as those in industry.

If automation and new technologies are taking over the production of goods and many associated 'white collar' occupations in much the same way that improved farming methods and more efficient agricultural technology freed our predecessors from dependence on the land to work in manufacturing industry, where will future employment opportunities arise or be found? Most commentators are agreed that in the future jobs will depend less and less on the labour intensive, people-to-nature interactions and capital intensive, people-to-machine interactions which have characterized work roles in pre-industrial and industrial societies. They are also agreed that a post-industrial society, in which a greater premium will be placed on knowledge than on physical strength or craft skills, will demand investment of the surpluses that will accrue from the application of new technologies in the human capital which will be the major resource in the new service economy of the next century, and in which such fields as information technology, communications, health, education, social services and leisure will provide the main sources of employment. It should be a matter of concern for us all that there is much less agreement over how this transition will be effected, its likely timescale or whether such changes can be made without any associated social unrest or civil disorder.

Changes in the distribution of occupations

Sectoral changes and the impact of new technologies have resulted in, and will continue to promote, related changes in the distribution of occupations. For example, while the guild system ensured a supply of master craftsmen in various trades from medieval times, the Industrial Revolution promoted the rise of a substantially larger class of artisans and mechanics, whose much wider range of skills played a significant part in the early development of industrial society. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, under the influence of F.W. Taylor and his followers in the United States who pioneered "scientific management," craftsmen's traditional concern for the quality of the product began to be matched by management concern for the efficiency of production. Mass production methods developed from these principles fragmented jobs and lessened demand for skilled craftsmanship. At the same time, though, they also increased demand for the semi-skilled and unskilled operatives who have comprised the major portion of the workforce in manufacturing industries throughout most of this century. But these are the jobs which are most likely to disappear. Automation has already secured a substantial decrease in their number and its spread is generally expected to result in further reductions.

It is not only semi-skilled and unskilled manual jobs which may disappear following the introduction of automated procedures. Many traditional technical and craft skills are in a similar position. A comparison of British and American newspaper industries provides an instructive illustration of what

is happening with regard to such jobs. The use of computers, laser technology and advanced printing presses has recently enabled publication of America's first truly national daily newspaper. Co-ordinated printing processes ensure that, across the nation, copies appear on the streets at the same time. In contrast, British national newspapers are still set by the nineteenth century Linotype method. Some provincial newspapers do have modern equipment which their journalists use to write and edit copy. But this is as far as it goes—or has been allowed to go by the National Graphical Association, the trade union to which all typesetters and compositors belong. Instead of printing directly from journalists' copy, copies are provided for the composing room where they are re-typed by NGA members using the more costly, error-prone Linotype method. The NGA has fiercely resisted all attempts to introduce new printing technology. Fear of job losses following its introduction lies behind most of Fleet Street's recent problems and poor industrial relations record.

Automation will, of course, generate new demands for its own specialised skills. Examples would include those associated with robotics or micro-electronics and biotechnology's requirements for sterile engineering techniques. But, as these examples suggest, the skilled technicians of the future will need to have a grounding in science as well as in one or more branches of engineering. That the 33 workers employed on fibre optics production at the BICC factory in Manchester include five graduate engineers, with other members of the team much more highly qualified than typical entrants to the engineering trades, is a telling indication of industry's future requirements. In the long run, therefore, there can be little doubt that expansion of automation and development of new science-based industries will be accompanied by the decline or disappearance of not only unskilled and semi-skilled labour but also many traditional technical and craft skills.

The expansion on the service sector, particularly since the second World War, absorbed many workers who might have looked to manufacturing industry for employment in earlier times. Whether it can continue to do so or, indeed, provide an occupational refuge for other workers who are displaced from industry is an important issue, especially in view of the possibility that automation may be more readily implemented in the service sector than in industry. Most offices in banks or insurance companies or retail outlets with tills linked to computers which perform stock control, ordering and accounting procedures, exemplify how far this trend has already advanced.

Nor is it likely that automation of the office will stop at its present level of secretarial and clerical functions. In the short-term, most applications will almost certainly be at such lower echelon levels, with a gradual expansion of the existing range of automated procedures over the next decade or so. In the longer-term, however, depending of the availability of much more sophisticated software, more radical changes are anticipated. For instance, it is

widely expected that advances in electronic communication and software will dispense with the need for many executive and middle management functions—by enabling senior executives, at the touch of a button, to have more direct interaction with operational personnel and to exercise more direct control over budgets and the monitoring or analysis of output or performance.

The only countervailing trend in the distribution of occupations in recent years has been a significant increase in the number of highly qualified technical, scientific and professional workers. In every industrial society, their skills and knowledge are in great demand and they are therefore comprising an increasingly high proportion of the workforce. It is generally expected that this trend will continue and that such personnel will form the main occupational grouping in future years. This development extends a major challenge to the education and training systems of all industrial societies, especially in countries like Great Britain which have tended to adopt highly selective or elitist approaches. In this regard, the current British stance on educational policy, involving a cutting back on higher education and curtailment of expenditure at all other levels, would appear to be a singularly inappropriate approach. The real need is for much greater investment in the human capital which will undoubtedly comprise the most valuable national asset in tomorrow's world.

With all other labour market participants accounted for, one group remains: those who are not fully integrated in the labour market and the growing number of people who are unemployed. This is a particularly important group as far as this essay is concerned because it now embraces about a quarter of people of working age who are theoretically available for employment and because people with disabilities are, and always have been, disproportionately represented in its membership. It includes all those who, through no personal preference, are intermittently employed on a substantially increased number of casual or temporary jobs or job creation scheme activities. It also includes those who are unemployed, those who are only able to work part-time or below acceptable levels of productivity and those of working age who are unable to work at all.

While membership of this group inevitably includes a small minority who have opted out and who are not too concerned about their lot, the overwhelming majority are not of this opinion and are certainly not the 'scroungers,' 'cheats' or 'chiselers' they are often held to be. In a world in which the work ethic continues to hold sway while at the same time opportunities to work are denied, the distress engendered by lack of job security or unemployment is discernible in both mortality and morbidity statistics (Hill, 1978; Warr, 1983; Harris, 1984). This point is further illustrated by evidence that suicides in Great Britain have increased at an average annual rate of three per cent since 1975 and by a recent Medical Research Council study (Platt, 1983)

which showed that, in Edinburgh, one half of all male attempted suicides are unemployed, a rate which is six times higher than that for those who are in work. Such evidence underlines the importance of maintaining a balance between future investment in the restructuring of industry and provision of adequate facilities for the health care, welfare, education and vocational training or retraining of those who, mostly through no fault of their own making, have or will become victims of ongoing changes in the structure and functioning of the labour market and the distribution of occupations.

Changes in working conditions and in the organization of work

Factory Acts, legislation to curb abuse of child labour and other yet more recent measures to safeguard conditions of employment and to improve health and safety in the work place have all helped to transform the terms under which the citizens of industrial societies are employed as well as the environments in which they work. Of course, occasional instances of extremely poor conditions of employment do still come to notice, as shown by a recent British example in which immigrant women at some Midlands clothing factories were found to be working in 'sweatshop' conditions. For the most part, though, very poor working conditions are now much more likely to be found in developing or industrializing countries—in the tea plantations of Bangla Desh and Sri Lanka or in the textile and clothing industries of the Far East, where child labour is still exploited.

It is generally agreed that, while preventive measures have reduced the incidence of work place injuries, maintaining a good record on this count will require constant vigilance. The record on industrial disease, however, is possibly not so good. It is quite widely accepted that more could be done to prevent the occurrence of some industrial diseases. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that, in industrial societies at least, people generally work in conditions which are far cleaner, safer and more congenial than at any previous time. It remains to be seen what effect automation and the introduction of new technologies will have on the physical and mental health of workers. At present though, assuming that anxieties about them being a potential cause of job losses are unfounded, there is little to suggest that their further development and expansion will be associated with a deterioration of health and safety at work or in work environments.

A second major dimension of change in working conditions is a substantial reduction in the amount of time devoted to work and a commensurate increase in free time. This change is discernible in four main trends. First, the length of the typical working day has decreased from twelve hours or more in the years before the Factory Acts to the present average level of between seven and eight hours. Secondly, the average number of days worked has decreased, from a six to a five day week. The combined effect of these trends is

apparent in a gradual decrease over the past 150 years in the average number of hours worked per week from a minimum of 70, even for women and children, to the present norm of around 39 hours. As recently as June 1984, at a European Economic Community Council of Ministers meeting, the British veto needed to be exercised to prevent a further reduction. All other member states voted for a new 35 hour norm, perceiving in such a reduction an opportunity to create more jobs and hence to reduce unemployment.

A third trend is an increase in the amount of paid holidays to which employees are entitled. A century ago a 52 week working year was not uncommon and, as recently as 25 years ago, most industrial workers in Britain were only entitled to two weeks holiday with pay each year. For most employees today, such entitlement has now risen to three or four weeks, with even longer holidays having been negotiated in an increasing number of other cases.

The number of years worked is not measurable in comparable terms because the age at which young people enter the labour market has changed from time to time and because life expectancy a century or so ago was markedly shorter than it is today. Even so, there are two other indicators of a fourth trend, towards shorter working lives. One is the provision of pensions for retired citizens, an indication of increases in life expectancy, and the periodic lowering of the age point which defines eligibility for such entitlements. The other is an increase in the number of people who elect to take early retirement, either voluntarily or because they wish to take advantage of the arrangements which many governments have made to encourage older workers to make way for unemployed young people.

All of these trends are so well established that there would seem to be little doubt that time spent at work—measured in hours, days, weeks or years—will continue to diminish, partly as a result of the part that new technologies will play in improving the efficiency of manufacturing industry and other forms of work, and partly through trades union pressure for shorter working weeks and job sharing as a means of reducing unemployment. Another possible development is that more people will take sabbaticals. In some cases, this could be a simple work sharing device. In others, it would provide opportunities to update or acquire new knowledge and skills in a world in which 'lifetime' skills of a non-creative kind will generally have diminishing value.

A progressive reduction in working time might be expected to have one other consequence. The work ethic in which industrial societies have placed so much store has mainly been upheld and reinforced by the discipline of employment and the associated requirement that in waking hours more time is devoted to work than to any other activity. To the extent that this balance shifts, we may come to perceive that the work ethic has become detached from its original utilitarian base and that a fairer valuation of human work and creativity calls for a much less narrowly defined alternative.

Changes in working conditions have been accompanied by changes in the organization of work. Transformation of workshops into small factories and of factories into mass production in the large plants which have dominated industry throughout most of the twentieth century have been the major landmarks in this process. But, today, other changes are occurring as a result of the recession, the availability of new technology and management's desire to break away from the poor industrial relations associated with the 'closed shop' arrangements that tended to predominate in the large plants. Having found that conglomerate plants created by a series of mergers and amalgamations were more likely to produce set-piece industrial relations confrontations than the enhanced efficiency that scaling-up was expected to generate, more and more companies are breaking down large operations into several smaller, more autonomous units. While not necessarily for the same reasons that led Schumacher to plead that "small is beautiful" (Schumacher, 1973), it would seem that this will be the pattern for the future, especially in view of manufacturing industry's now rapidly declining demand for labour.

Other companies, old and new, are taking advantage of developments in technology and communications to re-locate operations away from expensive industrial quarter or city centre sites. For instance, as the very notion of 'Silicon Valleys' implies, almost all of the new production units in such fields as computing, microtechnology and biotechnology are located in previously non-industrial or rural areas. The service sector is also taking similar steps with companies like Commercial Union Assurance, for example, having moved some two thirds of its head office personnel from the City of London to suburban locations to the south and east of the metropolis. A further trend is apparent in the relocation of individual jobs from factory and office to employees' homes. It was recently reported that more than 12 per cent of Britain's companies already employ staff who work from home using terminals linked to central computers. The anticipated increase in home-based employment may be of particular importance to people with mobility handicaps which prevent them from taking up other kinds of employment.

Structural Unemployment

Enough has already been said about the extent and impact of structural unemployment in Great Britain to demonstrate how long and dark a shadow it casts over all future scenarios. It may therefore suffice here to illustrate the extent to which unemployment is of mounting concern not just in Western Europe but world-wide, and to draw attention to some of the implications of this problem for established social and economic policies.

In its recent *World Labour Report*, the International Labour Office (ILO, 1984) estimated that by the year 2000 an additional 500 million people will have joined the world's labour force. Simply to keep pace with this rate of expansion, it would be necessary to create some 30 million new jobs every year.

Although most of the need for new jobs will arise in the developing or industrializing countries, in which two thirds of the world's population live, most other countries can expect unemployment to become the most pressing social, economic and political problem in the next decade.

Mary Croxen has reviewed the situation in the European Economic Community in a report commissioned by the EEC Bureau for Action in Favour of the Handicapped (Croxen, 1982; 1984). She found that even in Holland, West Germany and France, the three member states with the strongest economies, unemployment is expected to increase and that, for the EEC as a whole, it has been estimated that at least 11 million new jobs are needed to bring unemployment down to the previously acceptable post-war norm of two per cent. Young people have been particularly affected, with 20 per cent of the unemployed in West Germany, 40 per cent in Great Britain and France and 50 per cent in Italy under 25 years of age. Given the prospect that new technologies are more likely to decrease rather than increase employment opportunities, at least in the short-term, the European Economic Commission has started to examine various possible solutions. Re-organization of working time, including part-time work and work sharing, and new forms of work, including job creation schemes and co-operative enterprises, have all been looked at from this perspective. Croxen concludes that, despite the effort expended on the problem, an overall co-ordinated and comprehensive strategy for unemployment has yet to emerge. She also notes that, to date, evidence that people with disabilities experience a high degree of labour market handicap has received scant attention, and stresses the importance of ensuring that further consideration of their special needs is not relegated to being an afterthought in any future policy or program.

A continuation of high rates of structural unemployment raises other anxieties about the future. In the Third World, with little or no social security provision to cushion its impact, higher unemployment can only add to the misery and poverty which already abound. Although industrialized nations may avoid a catastrophic decline in living standards, failure to generate an early return to full employment could result in other problems. For example, rising levels of unemployment are causing the burden of social security funding to fall on fewer and fewer shoulders. This will only add to concern which already exists about the ability of such societies to maintain present levels of support for the sick, the disabled or the rapidly growing number of citizens who survive well beyond retirement age. At present, the most popular politicians are those who propose to cut taxes, seeing reduced taxation as a means of stimulating investment, promoting economic growth, raising living standards and reducing unemployment. Should events turn out differently, it is not inconceivable that an electorate in which the majority of voters are non-workers (i.e. people who are unemployed or who are unable to work owing to ill health or disablement or pensioners without independent means) may

eventually choose to use the ballot box to express a preference for quite different taxation policies and systems of income distribution and maintenance.

Changes in attitudes to work and the meaning of work

Although people who are considered 'work-shy' attract opprobrium, it would be wrong to think that everyone who does work neatly fits Adam Smith's vision of a seamless web of self-interested individualism. The extensive literatures on motivation to work and job satisfaction amply demonstrate that, while some people find their work personally fulfilling, others, probably the majority, have a more instrumental orientation in which work holds fewer intrinsic satisfactions, being more a source of income to pay for life's necessities, to improve living standards and to enrich the quality of non-work time and activities. Yet others, including many in more menial occupations and for whom work provides only the barest essentials, quite understandably find even less satisfaction, intrinsic or extrinsic.

That the work ethic is an ideal standard rather than a generally internalised value is also suggested by other evidence. For example, the amount of time and energy that personnel departments devote to providing advice or assistance to employees with records of chronic absenteeism or with such problems as alcoholism or, more generally, the very need for quality of working life and industrial social work programmes would tend to suggest that a substantial minority of employees still find that adjustment to the discipline of working life has its problems.

Trades union and socialist authorities tend to view such problems as being of comparatively recent origin and as an outcome of a progressive devaluation of traditional technical and craft skills following the introduction of mass production and automation. While the craftsman's pride and satisfaction in a job well done should not be underestimated, it is possible that such views may exaggerate the extent to which all workers in the past were spurred on by such intrinsic satisfactions. A more balanced evaluation might include consideration of the part that shorter working hours, improved living standards, higher expectations and greater leisure opportunities have also played in gradually reshaping attitudes to work. Whatever the reasons, attitudes to work are changing, with studies showing not only that there are differences between generations, with younger people showing less adherence to the work ethic, but also that, for all ages, given a choice between higher wages for the same amount of work or more free time without any increase in income, most people express a preference for the latter.

If the meaning of work is changing for people in employment, it has also changed for many of the unemployed. Although the shock of losing jobs has been no less traumatic for the individuals concerned, in many communities with high levels of structural unemployment and where there is little prospect of an early return to full employment different attitudes to work and un-

employment are beginning to emerge. The radical nature of such attitudes is well illustrated by the results of a recent opinion sounding exercise in the West Riding of Yorkshire, once the thriving centre of Britain's woollen and worsted cloth manufacturing industry (Khaleelee and Miller, 1984). This extremely detailed and original study sampled opinions on the future of work held by employers, trades unionists, elected councillors, local government officials and representatives of voluntary organizations, as well as a wide cross section of the general public.

The study reports a surprising degree of unanimity of opinion at both grassroots and other levels for five broad propositions. Few respondents thought that full employment would be restored. The majority were more pessimistic, believing that the impact of new technology will only add to the number of long-term unemployed people. They expressed concern and surprise that politicians seem to be turning a blind eye to this problem. But because jobs are a source of self esteem and income and because employment helps maintain order in society, high unemployment should not be tolerated. Solutions are to be found in changing the system of education and training, to help young people in particular to prepare themselves for a different kind of future, and in devising new, fairer ways of sharing the employment that is available. While this might be achieved in some measure by job creation schemes, work-sharing, shortening the working week, reducing overtime or by lowering retirement age, few considered that such initiatives would produce a lasting solution. This called for a more radical alternative in which greater recognition is given to the worth and legitimacy of work done outside paid employment.

According to Khaleelee and Miller, the clear message from their respondents is that it is necessary to contemplate "a different kind of future in which employment, as an institution, is no longer the principal way in which goods and services are distributed and in which the non-employed individual can feel that he/she is a worthwhile member of society." This conclusion may be considered to be all the more significant because it has emerged from a sampling of grassroots opinion rather than from a government 'think tank' or from academic forecasting exercises of the kind to which we now turn.

CONTRASTING VIEWS ON THE FUTURE OF WORK

Agreement between commentators on the nature of changes now occurring in industrial societies is not matched by a similar consensus regarding their implications for the future. The limitations of forecasting exercises, particularly where complex problems are involved, are well illustrated by the conflicting and contradictory conclusions reached in different attempts to develop scenarios on the future of work. Nevertheless, it is arguable that, despite all the difficulties involved, closer examination of these different scenarios is worthwhile because delineation of the range of viewpoints prev-

alent at any particular time represents one way of capturing the nature of the society in which they originate.

In this sense, it is of interest that until quite recently views on the future of work in most western industrial societies were variations on an economic theme, with little or no attention paid to wider political and cultural dimensions of social change. But this is much less true today. Arguments that economic growth will ensure a return to full employment (for example, that proponents of technological unemployment are confusing the effects of technical change on demand for labour in particular sectors with its effects on the economy as a whole) carry little weight in communities which have been blighted by structural unemployment or with commentators who are critical of a system which has such effects. It is not therefore too surprising to discover that economists' views on the future of work are beginning to receive some competition from alternatives which lay much less stress on economic growth and much more on alternative systems for the production, distribution and exchange of goods or on alternative ethics or cultural values. Such dissentient opinion, based on the belief that mankind may have reached the threshhold of changes which are potentially far more momentous than is suggested by conventional economic viewpoints, is an increasingly important strand in thinking about the future of work. Its importance is recognised here in the selection of ideal type scenarios on the future of work for more detailed consideration.

A cornucopia of abundance

Pursuit of abundance or the gradual improvement of living standards through economic growth has been a pre-eminent ideal of industrial society, and remains so today. Since the 1940s, though, economic policies have been guided in varying degrees by Keynes' views on the need to harmonize market forces and the wider concerns and responsibilities of the state. For much of this period, therefore, governments have exercised a regulatory control over the economy as a whole by taking steps, for example, to control inflation, to maintain full employment or to achieve a reasonable balance of payments. Keynes believed that, by such means, society would be cushioned from some of the harsher oscillations of a truly *laissez faire* economy, as witnessed during the period of the Great Crash of 1929 and the following years of depression, while at the same time provided with a foundation for steady economic growth.

Although Keynes was confident that such policies would secure the future for his grandchildren (Keynes, 1930), his strategy has since faltered in the face of world recession, inflation and technological innovations which, at least temporarily, threaten to invalidate long-standing economic assumptions regarding the link between the creation of wealth and the creation of employment. But the economic problems of the 1970s have not shaken belief

in the desirability of economic growth, even though they have persuaded some economists and politicians to revise their views on how such growth is best encouraged and sustained. In this sense, the monetarist principles which now tend to dominate economic policy decision-making, and which re-assert the role of market forces in ensuring economic growth, merely highlight the extent to which differences of opinion, even between political parties, are still more about means than ends.

The economic growth scenario has therefore remained at the center of all mainstreams of economic and political thought in modern industrial societies. Everywhere, the majority opinion, in the ranks of labour as well as capital, expects recession to be no more than a temporary set-back in a longer "wave" of economic growth. This opinion is reinforced by other expectations that new or revitalised industries will eventually create the jobs needed to bring an end to structural unemployment; that growth can be achieved without exhausting essential resources of food, energy and raw materials; and that this process can be accomplished without altering the shape, or undermining the stability, of existing social and political institutions or beliefs. The most popular view of the future of work is therefore one in which it is expected that, while there may be changes in social structure (the economy, technology and the distribution of occupations), a return to full employment will ensure survival of the work ethic and preserve the essential characteristics of the present social, economic and political order.

There is, however, some evidence that confidence in this essentially conservative conception of social and economic development is beginning to crumble, especially among those who have become unemployed and who see few signs of a return to full employment. This has stimulated more critical evaluation of the economic growth scenario and tentative exploration of alternatives which could be more relevant to a post-industrial society. As the following two examples show, such views on the future of work can be as different from one another as they are from the system they would seek to replace.

Post-industrial socialism

In contrast with Keynes' view of gradual economic growth in societies which remained committed to principles of social democracy, Marx foresaw exploitation of labour and a polarization of society into two classes. The epicenter of this inevitable crisis of capitalism, which he anticipated would happen sooner rather than later, would be conflict over ownership of the means of production. As Bell (1974) has pointed out, it is now apparent that Marx did not fully anticipate the development and strength of corporate power in either capitalist or socialist societies; the extent to which industrial relations (as a manifestation of class struggle) would focus less on the social relations of production, or property, than on the forces or techniques of production; or the extent to which the composition of industrial society would change to in-

clude a much reduced industrial proletariat and an expanded technical, scientific and professional stratum. For various reasons, therefore, it now seems that the predicted crisis of capitalism in industrial society may not materialize. This conclusion would certainly appear to have been reached by those socialist thinkers who, like André Gorz, have turned their attention to the role of socialism in post-industrial society.

In his essay, *Farewell to the Working Class*, Gorz analyses the implications of new technologies for both jobs and investment. (Gorz, 1982). Whereas, previously, additional investment tended to create new jobs, new technologies will enable goods and services to be produced with less labour and with less capital investment. Additional investment therefore abolishes more jobs than it generates. As a result, the introduction of new technologies seems likely to break the link between investment and economic growth. As Gorz points out, "Since investment enables business to use less capital and less labour per unit of output, modernization is making for the contraction, not the growth of GNP as measured in monetary terms. The rapidly shrinking amount of wages paid out will lead to a contraction of the market—unless new regulatory policies sever the link which makes the level of people's income dependent on the amount of work performed."

Anticipating that the natural response of organized labour to such developments might be to obstruct or otherwise oppose technical innovations, Gorz maintains that this would be counter-productive and likely to lead to even higher levels of structural unemployment. An evasive response, ignoring the cultural changes likely to accompany the emergence of a post-industrial society, would also deny working people an opportunity to shape their own future. For Gorz, a more constructive, socialist alternative would be to strive for a gradual, planned redistribution of the shrinking amount of work required as automation displaces human labour. In this process, already exemplified by the guaranteed annual income agreement negotiated by New York's longshoremen following the introduction of containerization, the underlying principle would be that working hours lost through automation are paid at the same rate which applies to those which remain necessary. By this means, any break in the link between the creation of wealth and the creation of employment would be compensated by provision of a social wage, and the human capital so accumulated would be available for other socially valued work or purposes. In Gorz's vision of the future, the abolition of paid employment is a pre-condition for the establishment of post-industrial socialism. But, as will be seen in the following presentation of Macarov's views on the future of work, this is certainly not the only option. There are alternative cultural as well as alternative political scenarios to be contemplated.

An Athe[illegible]ithout slaves

As might be expected from one whose career has been mainly devoted to

social work, both as practitioner and teacher, Macarov's (1980) interest in the future of work arises from concern over industrial society's failure to solve the problem of poverty and the implications of the burden of welfare for an increasing number of dependent citizens falling on fewer shoulders. As the title of his monograph, *Work and Welfare: the Unholy Alliance*, implies, he takes the view that these problems can only be solved by breaking the link between work and welfare which has persisted since the time of the Elizabethan Poor Laws, and argues that only stubborn adherence to an outmoded concept of work as paid employment prevents their solution.

The starting point for Macarov's challenging analysis is a detailed review of the ways in which the link between welfare and work has been institutionalized. He identifies four main administrative devices which have this purpose: benefits which are only available to people with work records; vestedness requirements in which entitlement to benefit is defined in relation to length of work record; administrative arrangements which favor programs and benefits which, like rehabilitation, help people to enter or re-enter employment; and the wage stop, the modern manifestation of the Elizabethan principle of 'less eligibility,' which prevents anyone who is out of work for whatever reason from receiving as much income as people with jobs. As a result of their application, an ever increasing proportion of the population, the majority of whom are either unable to work by reason of ill health or age, or more than willing to work if jobs were available, are kept in or near poverty. They are, moreover, obliged to live at this level on the basis of an untested assumption that higher benefits or income maintenance payments would not only discourage them from working but also encourage others who are in work to opt out.

According to Macarov, this state of affairs is maintained by four assumptions about work: that society needs all the work that its members can produce; that paid employment is the only practical or desirable method of dividing the results of production; that working is a measure of normalcy and that there are no satisfactory alternatives to the role of employment in creating a sense of self-worth and regulating social interaction; and that work is a moral act or duty owed to society. He argues that none is wholly justifiable and that the extent to which they do apply or are valid may not justify the suffering they cause.

New technology is perceived as offering an opportunity not only to break the link between work and welfare but also to create a new social order, akin to Athenian culture but without its dependence on slave labour, and in which more efficient methods of production and provision of a social wage would result in the work ethic being superseded by such other ideals as education, social service or self-actualization.

Economic efficiency or social justice: balancing the options

While theories like those of the Chicago monetarists or the Paris Marxists

capture the headlines, all views of this kind may underestimate both the essentially dynamic and adaptive nature of existing economic, social and political institutions and the natural resistance of most social systems to extreme points of view. In time, therefore, it is not really likely that the problem of post-industrial societies will be seen as a fundamental tension between capitalism and socialism or as presenting straight choices between retention of the work ethic or its replacement by some other ideal. Arguments like Daniel Bell's (1974), in *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*, offer a more plausible perspective in drawing attention to the complexity and uncertaintly of forecasting exercises and in casting such extreme scenarios as attempts to define the polar positions within which new maps of our economic, social and political worlds might be drawn. From this perspective, future development is much more likely to follow a course which falls between these extremes, guided by economic and social policies which represent different ways of reconciling the inherent conflict between such 'economizing' and 'sociologizing' tendencies.

Rather than attempting to predict the future or to argue the case for a particular pattern of development, Bell's work has the more modest aims of describing the major social structural dimensions of a post-industrial society and trying to identify some of the economic, political and cultural tensions with which it may have to cope. Like many other writers on this subject, he considers that change from a goods producing to a service economy and a shift in the distribution of occupations in which people with technical, scientific and professional skills have replaced 'blue collar' workers as the dominant occupational group are key indicators of the emergence of a post-industrial society. But these changes in where people work and what they do are just the more visible symbols of a new system of social stratification. Less visibly, this new system is being underpinned by three other related developments: the growing importance of theoretical knowledge as a source of both technological innovation and policy formulation; the emergence of a strong future orientation requiring the development of more powerful tools for planning and policy decision making; and, given the new emphasis on knowledge and technical decision making, bringing the scientist and the economist, for example, more directly into politics; the need for a political system which is responsive to the needs of all members of society.

In strong contrast with most other authorities, therefore, Bell does not envisage the development of a more perfect, rational or ordered society, merely the emergence of new problems to be solved and new conflicts of interest to be reconciled. In the economic sphere these will center on a continuing need to balance the striving for economic growth and functional efficiency with measures to ensure that wider social and ecological interests are taken into consideration. In the political sphere these will concentrate on the role of the state as arbiter of the conflicting claims and interests of all indi-

viduals and groups. In the cultural sphere, the problem may be that of tolerating and harmonizing any friction between an increasingly divergent range of attitudes, values, beliefs and forms of self-expression.

Bell's more general point is that post-industrial society is likely to be much more pluralistic than the industrial society it supersedes. Whereas, in industrial society, the economy, polity and culture have been linked by a common value system (in which the work ethic has been in the ascendant), post-industrial society is likely to bring an increasing disjunction between these three elements. To the extent that this happens, it may be necessary for a post-industrial society to develop its own distinctive institutions or devices to distribute income or reward activity, to administer social justice, to enable participation in decision making processes and to protect and preserve its pluralistic culture. It is against this background, not the requirements of industrial society, that the future of work for people with disabilities and the future of vocational rehabilitation should be considered.

REHABILITATION AND EMPLOYMENT OF PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES IN GREAT BRITAIN: A CASE STUDY

ORIGINS OF BRITISH VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION POLICY

In Great Britain, state provision of specialized services for the rehabilitation, training and resettlement of disabled persons is of comparatively recent origin. Even during the emergence of industrial society in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which provided an impetus for social provision on a broad scale to combat social problems whose magnitude rapidly outstripped the protective or ameliorative resources of traditional social institutions like the family, the community and the church, there was little evidence of concern for the problems of the long-term sick or disabled. Morever, while nineteenth century Parliamentary records bear witness to the concern of successive governments to legislate against the worst excesses of poverty, poor housing and deleterious public health and working conditions, the poignant reporting of Charles Dickens or contemporary commentators like Chadwick, Engels, Booth, or the Webbs attests that the effect of harsh conditions upon able-bodied and disabled alike were not readily ameliorated.

Where work was concerned, the combined ill consequences of industrialization and urbanization for those who suffered sickness or disablement during or as a result of their employment were mitigated through membership of Friendly Societies or trades union organizations.

But most workers had no such protection and were therefore obliged to seek assistance in the form of out-relief or charity or, as often happened, do without. Thus, despite pressure from conscientious Members of Parliament, from philanthropic lobbies and from organized labour in its various guises which, together, succeeded in securing some small gains of universal benefit in such areas as health and safety at work, working conditions in certain industries, employers' liability and workman's compensation, specific provision for the disabled was not made in any significant measure until after the first World War.

One consequence of the carnage of the first World War was that the rehabilitation, training and resettlement needs of disabled ex-servicemen far exceeded the available resources of voluntary agencies. An onus to make some formal provision for their needs was therefore laid upon central government. Its response was marked, at least in part, by the opening of government instruction factories, and through the introduction by Royal Proclamation in 1919 of the King's National Roll which aimed to encourage employers voluntarily to include in their work force a quota of disabled ex-servicemen who were in receipt of disability pensions for war injuries.

However, while the needs of this group were further considered by Inter-Departmental Committees which reported in 1920 and 1923 and by a Parliamentary Select Committee which reported in 1922 (all rather obviously and unimaginatively recommending that existing provision should be expanded), the needs of the civilian disabled were in contrast relatively neglected. It is true to say that the general problem of retraining for more suitable employment persons, who as a result of industrial accidents, could no longer follow their previous occupations, was considered in 1922 by a Home Department Committee on Workmen's Compensation, but its deliberations were in effect equally, if not more, unproductive than its counterparts for ex-servicemen. In particular, the principle implied in its recommendations that the industrially disabled should receive the same treatment as the war disabled and should therefore be similarly eligible for places in the government-sponsored industrial training centers proved unworkable in practice, owing to the relative scarcity of work places.

The deeply-rooted economic and social problems associated with the years of the General Strike and the following depression diverted attention from the needs of the disabled and little more was achieved on their behalf (at least at the instigation of central government) until the outbreak of the second World War. Major landmarks in the development of services for disabled persons during the inter-war years were therefore mainly located in the voluntary sector. Here, for example, progress was marked by the creation in 1935 of the Queen Elizabeth Training College for the Disabled at Leatherhead and the opening in 1937 of the St. Loyes College for the Training and Rehabilitation of the Disabled at Exeter.

After the outbreak of war in 1939, movement of personnel into the armed forces left a number of vacancies in industry and commerce which were eventually filled by various sections of the population who had not been so called upon in peace time. In the course of time many of these vacancies, and those in war industries, were filled by women and by previously unemployed disabled persons. In the case of the disabled, the Ministry of Labour and National Service, in conjunction with other government departments, inaugurated in 1941 an Interim Scheme for Training and Resettlement of the Disabled. One significant aspect of the setting up of this scheme was that it did not discriminate between the disabled ex-servicemen and the civilian disabled, a development which is generally considered to have reflected the wartime manpower shortage and partly also the fact that there were, as a result of the war, substantial numbers of civilian casualties whose needs could not be treated separately from those of personnel from the armed services. Inauguration of the Interim Scheme therefore marked the very first attempt to launch a comprehensive system to provide for the training and resettlement needs of all disabled persons.

Once such requirements had been recognised, other steps were taken to

determine if such arrangements needed to be backed up by other measures or specialized services. This task was given to an Inter-Departmental committee (Tomlinson Committee, 1943), whose report and recommendations, provided the blueprint for the subsequent development of vocational rehabilitation policy and services in Great Britain.

THE SCOPE OF VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

The Tomlinson Committee was invited "to make proposals for the introduction at the earliest possible date of a scheme for the rehabilitation and training for employment of disabled persons not provided for by the Interim Scheme; to consider and make recommendations for introduction as soon as possible after the war of a comprehensive scheme for (i) the rehabilitation and training of and (ii) securing satisfactory employment for disabled persons of all categories; to consider and make recommendations as to the manner in which the scheme proposed for introduction after the war should be financed." Because, 40 years on, there are few aspects of policy or services which do not comply with the spirit, if not the letter of its guidelines, an examination of its assumptions, analysis and recommendations is a natural starting point from which to review vocational rehabilitation provision in Great Britain.

The Tomlinson Committee considered that, given continuity of treatment between medical and other rehabilitation and resettlement services, most people who experienced illness or injury could either resume previous occupations or take up some other suitable employment on completion of medical treatment. Although such patients would not require further specialized assistance, it was anticipated that, where necessary, employers might assist their return to work, either by providing light duties leading to a graduated resumption of full productivity or by re-allocating them to different jobs that were suited to residual skills and abilities.

However, the overarching aim of the Tomlinson proposals was "to secure for the disabled their full share, within their capacity, of such employment as is ordinarily available." Recognizing that there was a substantial minority who required additional assistance to help them bridge the gap between medical treatment and the point at which they could be regarded as fit for employment, the committee drew attention to the need for a variety of specialized services. In some cases, such needs would be met by referral to a prosthetics service. In others, a course of physical and mental reconditioning or vocational training to acquire new skills or to re-learn old ones was required. It was also recognized that disabled people who needed to change jobs or find new employment might require help of a different kind. This would take the form of a specialized service, provided in the national network of Employment Exchanges, to assess individual capacity and to advise

on the selection of suitable employment. Tomlinson's package included two further proposals. First, special measures were needed to secure for disabled people their full share of available employment opportunities. It was proposed that employers with less than a set proportion or "quota" of disabled employees should not be allowed to engage a non-disabled person without a special permit to do so. Second, other special measures were needed for those disabled people who were unable to hold their own under competitive conditions in open employment. It was anticipated that a limited range of sheltered workshop places would cater to the needs of the comparatively small number of people expected to comprise this group.

Public concern to ensure that both civilian and military casualties of the second World War received every possible assistance with their rehabilitation and resettlement created a very favorable climate for passage of the *Disabled Persons (Employment) Act*, 1944. The forerunners of today's range of specialist employment services for disabled people, all clearly bearing the imprint of the Tomlinson Committee's analysis and recommendations, were therefore quickly established in the post-war years, as part of a broader package of measures designed to stimulate economic recovery, requiring the fullest mobilization of the labour force, and to lay foundations for a welfare state. They included the appointment of Disablement Resettlement Officers (DROs) in Employment Exchanges and the establishment of national networks of Employment Rehabilitation Centres (ERCs) and sheltered workshops. The Act also empowered the Minister to establish a register of disabled people, to introduce a quota scheme and to set up advisory committees at national and local levels to advise on the development and operation of these services. Training requirements were treated differently. Because it was considered that, whenever possible, disabled people should receive training alongside their non-disabled counterparts, special provision was limited to support for a small number of residential training colleges, with all other vocational training opportunities for them provided by mainstream further education or training establishments.

That other professions and industry also responded to the Tomlinson Committee has tended to receive much less recognition. Such oversight is regrettable because, without the contributions made by members of the medical profession, occupational therapists and both sides of industry, Britain's vocational rehabilitation track record would certainly have been less impressive. A more accurate evaluation of Tomlinson should therefore acknowledge its role in stimulating medical consultants and family physicians to include concern for rehabilitation and return to work as a normal aspect of clinical case management and in encouraging the development of occupational therapy as an integral aspect of medical rehabilitation. It should also acknowledge the immediate response of industry, in both the public and the private sector. The provision of industrial rehabilitation facilities for employees at

Vauxhall Motors at Luton, the Austin-Morris car assembly plant near Oxford, Pilkington's glass manufacturing plants in Lancashire and in various locations throughout the steel industry, for example, all date back to this post-war period. In industry and other places of employment, Tomlinson's influence can also be traced in the extent to which progressive personnel and occupational health policies include special consideration of the needs of employees returning to work following illness or injury.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF POLICY AND SERVICES

Although Tomlinson's package of services has been refined and expanded over the years, the underlying rationale and operation of constituent services have, in most essentials, remained unchanged. Indeed, up to the early 1970s, there was little reason to change services which appear to have been reasonably effective. Throughout this period of post-war reconstruction and boom, Disablement Resettlement Officers and Employment Rehabilitation Centres were quite successful in placing clients in employment, even if the majority of jobs were of an unskilled or semiskilled kind in manufacturing industry, lower level 'white collar' occupations or the more menial type of work available in the service sector.

It is true that, from time to time, officials have expressed disquiet about particular aspects (for example, the rising costs of sheltered employment or the problem of enforcing the quota scheme) and that evaluative research drew attention to ways in which individual services or co-ordination between them might be improved. On balance, though, such concern was outweighed by the mainly reassuring tone of official reviews like those conducted by the Piercy Committee in the mid 1950s and the Department of Employment Research and Planning Division in the early 1970s (Piercy Committee, 1956; Department of Employment, 1972). These concluded that arrangements were generally satisfactory and that major changes in policy, practice or the allocation of resources to services were not necessary. A similar assessment was made as recently as 1978, in an official report which outlined a five to ten year development program for employment and training services for disabled people (Manpower Services Commission, 1978). Although this report anticipated that it might be necessary on some future occasion to re-examine basic principles, and acknowledged that scope for future development might be limited by resource constraints, it did not envisage a need for more fundamental changes in either policy or practice. The main proposals to improve the effectiveness of existing services and to take additional steps to persuade employers to adopt more progressive and positive policies on the employment of disabled people, were to be achieved without changing the basic pattern of services or the legislative framework on which they were based.

More recent proposals first to abolish then to amend the quota scheme (Manpower Services Commission, 1979; 1981a), to improve the effectiveness and scope of employment rehabilitation services (Manpower Services Commission, 1981b) and to change the Disablement Resettlement Officer Service (Manpower Services Commission, 1982), however, have their origin in three different developments of longer standing, but which became more prominent in the late 1970s.

The first was a growing recognition that the country was moving into deep recession of unparalleled proportions in the post-war years. This recession triggered off a dramatic rise in unemployment and has also accelerated a number of other changes in labour market conditions. As already noted, the most important of these have been a dramatic loss of jobs in an already shrinking manufacturing sector and a substantial shedding of unskilled labour. Consequently, job opportunities for disabled people have become much more difficult to find and the number of unemployed disabled people (whether registered or not) has increased.

The second development was pressure to respond to the results of research into the efficiency and effectiveness of rehabilitation and resettlement services. Independently conducted evaluations, undertaken throughout the 1970s by professional and academic researchers and by disabled people or organisations representing their interest, were much less sanguine about the relevance and effectiveness of Tomlinson's policy and package of services. Research confirmed the decreasing effectiveness of these arrangements over the years, including a marked decline from the mid-1970s, coinciding with the onset of recession (Sheikh et al., 1980; 1981; Cornes, 1984). It also highlighted other general problems. For example, although the Piercy Committee identified a need to improve liaison between medical and other rehabilitation and resettlement services, subsequent professional reviews (Tunbridge Committee 1972; NACEDP, 1980) and research (Blaxter, 1976) concluded that effective steps had yet to be taken to improve co-ordination in the delivery of services required by individual patients or clients. Other studies of the employment rehabilitation and resettlement services (Stubbins, 1980; Cornes, 1982) suggested several reasons for their generally poor performance. These included service providers' lack of an accurate appreciation of clients' problems and need for services; inflexibility and ineffectiveness of established procedures for meeting such needs and poor housekeeping of relevant professional and technical expertise. Considerable scope to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of existing services was therefore identified. A further outcome of research was the identification of groups of disabled people who failed to benefit from existing arrangements. These included those with such disabilities as mental illness (Royal College of Psychiatrists, 1980), and those who are only capable of part-time employment and who are currently discouraged from seeking such employ-

ment because it would prejudice their entitlement to Invalidity Benefit payments (Hymann, 1979; Davoud, 1980). Research therefore posed questions about both the effectiveness and the scope of provision.

A third source of pressure to review policy and services came from the disabled lobby. The decade leading up to the International Year of Disabled People in 1981 was a period in which disabled people became much less inclined to see themselves as passive recipients of official prescriptions for their health, welfare and employment and much more conscious of their rights and entitlement to equal consideration with their non-disabled counterparts in all areas of life, including the workplace. In the area of employment, such concern was voiced in a series of reports which were very critical of existing services, which suggested ways in which existing services and policy could be made more effective and which identified several new lines for the development of policy and practice (Bridge, 1977; Jordan, 1979; Grover and Gladstone, 1981; Townsend, 1981; CORAD, 1982; Robbins, 1982). These reports clearly conveyed the concern that disabled people have about the failure of Tomlinson's policy and package of services to help them achieve a fair share of employment opportunities. They also revealed their conviction that this objective can only be achieved by measures to strengthen the quota scheme, to expand provision for sheltered and other forms of subsidized employment and to remove the barriers which presently prevent disabled people from obtaining a fair share of part-time jobs.

Although each of these developments contributed to the backdrop against which the Manpower Services Commission has conducted its recent reviews of policy and services, it does not follow that they have all been reflected in the Commission's proposed changes. It is also arguable that proposed changes in policy and practice do not fully take into account other changes which have taken place since Tomlinson first considered these problems. In 40 years, there have been major changes in the types of disablement experienced by people of working age, major advances in the clinical management of illness and injury and significant changes in the labour market. But the MSC's proposals appear to be more concerned with refining definitions of eligibility for services than with changing the pattern of services available since Tomlinson. To set them in perspective, and to judge their appropriateness to changing social and economic conditions, it is necessary to consider the extent to which Tomlinson's conception of the labour market for disabled people still applies.

This task is made difficult by the fact that, as yet, we still lack a comprehensive model of the labour market for disabled people. One reason for this is that relevant government departments do not collect the kind of data needed to construct a model of this kind (Tebbutt and Cornes, 1980). It is therefore necessary to fall back on other sources, including what has been learned from the limited amount of survey research conducted in this area. The

'guesstimates' of the number of disabled people of working age produced by these methods vary considerably. At one end of the scale, official sources (Harris et al. 1971; Manpower Services Commission, 1982) suggest that between one and one and a half million people should be included in this group. Other research (Townsend, 1979), suggests that the figure may be as high as three million. Estimates of the proportion of this group who are unemployed are equally variable. In this case, official statistics suggest that as many as 17 per cent of registered disabled people are unemployed and assume that a similar proportion of unregistered disabled people are also out of work. In contrast, Townsend's research suggests that as many as three out of ten males and one in two females with some appreciable or severe incapacity are unemployed. The latter figures, of course, include a small proportion who are more or less permanently out of the labour market and a further proportion who are only capable of part-time work. Wood and Badley's (1978) research suggests that the former may comprise approximately three per cent of the adult population. There is no satisfactory estimate of the size of the latter group. It is significant that both of these two groups are currently excluded from official statistics.

Research has also begun to tell us a little about the kinds of people involved. The most important finding here is a very clear suggestion that there are important differences between the characteristics of disabled people in employment and those who do not have a job. Those in employment have a similar age range to the work force as a whole and perform a fairly representative cross section of all available kinds of work (Manpower Services Commission, 1982). It would also seem that employed disabled people do not differ from their non-disabled counterparts as regards their records of timekeeping, attendance and safety in the work place (Kettle, 1979). Unemployed disabled people, who comprise the clientele of the specialized services provided by the Manpower Services Commission, do not share these characteristics. Such people are generally older and much more likely to lack marketable job skills. As a group they are also significantly more likely to include people with disabilities that would make them hard to employ under almost any circumstances including, for example, histories of psychiatric illness. Their number is also more likely to include a significantly higher proportion of people with extremely poor employment histories (Cumella, 1981).

It is evidence of this kind about the present clientele that has led officials to conclude that the majority of disabled job seekers may have more in common with other groups of long-term unemployed people than they do with disabled people in employment; that specialist services devoted to all members of this group lead to dilution and ineffectiveness and that they would be much more effective if concentrated on a smaller number of recently disabled people. These themes dominate the recent reviews of employment

rehabilitation and of other forms of assistance to disabled people, published in 1981 and 1982 respectively, and have clearly colored the Commission's recent decisions regarding the future development of services. But while it is undoubtedly true that their disabled clients do seem to share a number of characteristics with other disadvantaged groups in the labour market, it is open to question whether a decision to treat them as similar is in fact justified. To do so overlooks two important considerations.

In the first place this assumption overlooks or plays down the part which disability plays in leading disabled clients into situations where they share the disadvantages of long-term unemployment with other groups. For them, disability is an additional handicap. To the extent that it is, unless new measures are taken to reduce or remove those aspects of disadvantage attendent on disability itself, any improvement in labour market conditions could see the earlier return to work of other long-term unemployed people, leaving the comparatively disadvantaged position of disabled people unchanged. Although such effects are inevitably disguised in times of high unemployment, this does not mean that it would not be appropriate to take action now with a view to reducing their impact in years to come.

Second, policies which concentrate on the similarities rather than the differences between disabled people and other disadvantaged groups are in effect a denial of the case that disabled people are entitled to specialized assistance in the labour market. This would certainly seem to be the intention, as outlined in the Manpower Services Commission's review of assistance for disabled people. This proposed a transfer of responsibility for the majority of clients currently on Disablement Resettlement Officers' caseloads to the general Employment Service, where they are now treated along with the generality of long-term unemployed people. It is arguable that the justification for this transfer is also open to question. Such clients, who in many instances may not have been submitted for vacancies for two or more years, are not only handicapped by their disabilities but also by the patent ineffectiveness of the specialized assistance provided to help them overcome such problems.

It is significant that, with the exception of employment rehabilitation, lack of effectiveness of specialist services over the years has not really figured in official reviews of policy and services. And yet it is quite possible that it is this very lack of effectiveness in some of the services set up on the Tomlinson Committee's recommendation which has perpetuated the (currently masked) comparative disadvantage of disabled people in the labour market and, hence, which has contributed to those changes in labour market participation by disabled people with which current proposals seek to deal. In other words, a more comprehensive analysis might suggest that Tomlinson's conception of the labour market for disabled people has been overtaken by more recent events.

Although this aspect tends to be overlooked, re-examination of Tomlin-

son's assumptions and expectations would confirm that the majority of disabled people still manage to obtain and retain employment on their own efforts and without specialised assistance. It would also confirm that there are still significant minorities of people who are more or less permanently out of the labour market or who are currently only capable of part-time employment and who are therefore ineligible for official services, which theoretically are still only available to those who are capable of full-time employment. There is also a continuing need for sheltered employment for those who are unable to compete in the open labour market on equal terms with non-disabled people, although it is increasingly doubtful whether the modestly expanded provision of sheltered workshop places adequately caters for all needs of this kind.

What has changed, and dramatically so, is the number of people who are judged unable to return to work without some specialized assistance of the kind provided by Disablement Resettlement Officers, employment rehabilitation centers or training services. This group has increased substantially in number over the years and has also changed in composition. Research into the characteristics of ERC clients and official reviews of Disablement Resettlement Officers' case records has shown that recently sick or disabled clients, for whom Tomlinson envisaged services would be mainly provided, comprise only a fifth of the total number of disabled people registered for employment with the Manpower Services Commission (Cumella, 1981). As previously noted, most clients are people whose disabilities are of much longer standing, who have few or no special skills and who have been out of work for considerable periods. In many cases, they are those people whom specialised services have failed to place in preceding years.

The accumulation of a large pool of long-term unemployed disabled people was certainly not anticipated by Tomlinson, whose blueprint assumed that most, if not all of those needing special help would benefit from it. Responding to their needs may therefore require new measures. Hence, because the recession has been most keenly felt in those labour market sectors in which, previously, vocational rehabilitation service clients have been most readily placed; because there is evidence that policy and services have not adapted to the needs of a changing labour market; and because recent official reviews of policy and services have tended to tinker with the system rather than ask more fundamental questions about its scope, effectiveness, and ability to respond to future changes, it is arguable that a much more searching and embracing review should be undertaken. This should look beyond the Tomlinson inheritance to identify the kind of provision required in a post-industrial context. The concluding part of this review of policy and services for the employment of people with disabilities in Great Britain attempts to identify some of the issues that a more searching review of this kind should consider.

OPTIONS FOR FUTURE POLICY

When looking to the future, it should not be forgotten that some existing approaches are still quite successful and may merit inclusion in any new policy or package of services. The job introduction and employment rehabilitation center job rehearsal schemes, which allow potential employers and prospective employees opportunities to assess, over a trial period, the latter's suitability for particular vacancies, are both good examples of this type. The recently formed Disablement Advisory Service, which is already succeeding in its appointed task of establishing more effective links with employers, is another example.

Nor should it be forgotten that Tomlinson's complete package of policies and services has been quite effective over the years. Although disparities between the proportions of disabled and non-disabled people in employment suggest that its objective of equity has never been achieved, there is evidence that some two thirds of people under pensionable age who also have a moderately severe or severe incapacity are in employment (Townsend, 1979). This is a much higher proportion than is found in many other countries including, for example, the United States, where the most recent statistical analysis estimates that only one third of its disabled people of working age are in employment (Bowe, 1983).

Given that the job placement record of specialist vocational rehabilitation services in the two countries is not so different (once allowance has been made for the use of different criteria in the definition of what constitutes an effective placement), it is unlikely that the markedly higher level of labour market participation by people with disabilities in Great Britain is especially attributable to the specialist services established on Tomlinson's recommendation. But two other aspects of Tomlinson's overall package, either singly or in combination, may account for the difference between these two countries. These are, first, the fact that the United States has no quota scheme and, second, the fact that generally, at least until quite recently, American employers have tended to avoid involvement in industrial rehabilitation, preferring to leave such matters to, for example, state-federal vocational rehabilitation services. It would seem that, despite its well documented shortcomings, the British quota scheme may have helped to create a much more favourable climate for the retention or hiring of disabled employees than is sometimes recognized. It would also seem that employers' response to Tomlinson's clearly stated expectation that the majority of disabled people would be able to enter or re-enter employment without assistance from specialist vocational rehabilitation services may have been similarly underestimated.

Despite the effort expended on them, it would also appear that, in focusing attention on the Manpower Services Commission's responsibilities for policy and services, official reviews may have attached much less importance than was merited to the two most positive and effective aspects of

Tomlinson's package. Reasons for this might include a heavy reliance on evidence provided by officials responsible for particular policies or services rather than a more open system of review since the Piercy Committee reported in 1956. They might also include the fact that, since the DE Research and Planning Division review of 1972, all reviews and policy decision making have been guided by resource constraints aiming to contain the rising costs of sheltered employment rather than by any assessment of need. As a result, attention has been focused on the efficiency and effectiveness of services, with little analysis of how disabled people in general cope in the labour market or of employers' policies and practices. Nor has there been any serious review of the adequacy of funding for this aspect of employment policy or its allocation between the various officially provided services.

Neglect of these wider aspects and more fundamental questions may not only have resulted in underestimation of employers' contributions (and, incidentally, the part that quota enforcement activities—however much DROs disliked such duties—have played in maintaining a reasonably favourable climate for the employment of disabled people), but also in underestimation of the marginality of a high proportion of vocational rehabilitation service clients. The truth is that only a minority of clients now benefit from such assistance and that, normally, these are the most able or potentially employable ones, casting a shadow of doubt on the employability under competitive conditions of many who are not so placed. Evidence on the low resettlement rates of former employment rehabilitation centre clients (Cornes, 1982; Cumella, 1982) and the recent review of other forms of assistance for disabled people (Manpower Services Commission, 1982), which revealed that 40 per cent of Disablement Resettlement Officers' clients had not been seen for six months and that 65 per cent had not been submitted for a vacancy for at least two years, underline the apparently marginal status of many of today's vocational rehabilitation service clients.

That such clients are not representative of all people with disabilities of working age was not anticipated by Tomlinson. Nor has it been a major consideration in most reviews of policy and services which, like Tomlinson, have tended to assume that a sharp distinction can be made between suitability or unsuitability for open employment. Future policies will therefore need to take into consideration much more effectively than those they supplement or replace not only the changing nature of the labor market but also the evidence that a considerable proportion of clients may not match up to Tomlinson's assumptions regarding their suitability for competitive employment. Given employers' moderately effective track record of retaining or engaging disabled workers and the apparent reasonableness of their insistence on concentrating such efforts on those who are suitable for the vacancies they wish to fill, it is possible that many proposed new policy initiatives may not bring much additional benefit to the majority of employment rehabilitation center

and Disablement Resettlement Service clients, even if they do benefit other people with disabilities, whether employed or unemployed.

Such new initiatives cover a wide range of different options including schemes to promote the abilities of disabled people or to market existing services (Manpower Services Commission, 1978; 1982); proposals to 'beef up' the quota scheme, linked to promulgation of a code of practice on the employment of disabled people for the guidance of employers (Manpower Services Commission, 1981a); a reorganisation of the Disablement Resettlement Service (Manpower Services Commission, 1982) and experimentation to enhance the effectiveness of employment rehabilitation centers (Manpower Services Commission, 1981; Cornes, 1982). to these can be added other 'unofficial' recommendations (which have yet to be acted on), to strengthen the law relating to the employment of disabled people both specifically in relation to the quota scheme (Disability Alliance, 1979) and more generally through anti-discrimination legislation (CORAD, 1982); to upgrade the professionalism of vocational rehabilitation service personnel (Cornes, 1982; Stubbins, 1982) and to improve disabled people's access to education and training opportunities, again both generally (Gellman, 1984) and specifically for young disabled people (Kettle, 1983).

As yet, new initiatives involving existing services have not resulted in higher resettlement rates. But it might be unrealistic to expect developments which are limited to the organization and operation of services rather than the wider social and economic climate in which they are provided to have a marked influence on placement statistics. Other research (Noble, 1979) has clearly indicated that vocational rehabilitation service efficiency and effectiveness is only one element in a complex equation embracing at least a dozen other major variables which can influence clients' success in obtaining employment. Given both the marginality of many clients and the parlous state of the British economy in recent years, a fairer evaluation might reflect on the extent to which extra staff effort and more effective programs have been needed simply to mark time in an increasingly adverse labour market.

If the new initiatives that have been taken may not be all that helpful to vocational rehabilitation service clients in the years ahead, are there other measures which might achieve this objective? It is arguable that the key to a solution to this particular problem may be found in a closer examination of employers' reasons for retaining or engaging people with disabilities. Few do so out of charitable motives or because they fear prosecution. Rather, disabled workers are retained if the cost of finding and training replacements exceeds that of retention and disabled workers are hired only if it is believed that their productivity will equate with that of non-disabled co-workers. In a world in which "money talks," in which the majority of vocational rehabilitation service clients have a clearly marginal labour market status and in which a commitment to equity in the labour market for people with disabili-

ties is retained, the policies that will be found effective might well be those with which employers can identify a little more readily than those pursued at the present time.

It would seem that the clients who have the greatest difficulty in finding employment are those whose capabilities are deemed to be too good for sheltered employment but not good enough for the open labour market. Such people are unlikely to be helped by the Manpower Services Commission's decision to transfer responsibility for their cases from the Disablement Resettlement Service to the general Employment Service. Nor are they likely to be helped by a policy of persuasion aiming to encourage employers to adopt more progressive personnel policies. At best, such steps may benefit disabled people who already have jobs or other people who become disabled whilst in employment, by encouraging employers to take steps which may not otherwise have been contemplated to retain their services.

Disabled people themselves and organizations representing their interests are well aware of the problem. They recognise that more effective policies will be those which stimulate demand for their labour. But they also recognize that, in the present economic climate and in a rapidly changing labour market, significant gains in employment opportunities are unlikely to be found in the open employment sector. Thus while they are concerned to retain the quota scheme in order to preserve a measure of protection for disabled people in open employment, they are now equally concerned to achieve a marked expansion in sheltered, subsidized and part-time employment opportunities. It is both significant and disappointing that developments of this kind are not envisaged. Sheltered employment is the one aspect of provision for disabled people which will remain totally unaltered by current proposals for the future development of vocational rehabilitation in Great Britain and part-time employment opportunities continue to be blocked by the reluctance of the Department of Health and Social Security to introduce a partial Invalidity Benefit scheme.

Some subsidized employment opportunities have been introduced in the small but gradually growing network of sheltered industrial groups, but the expansion of such openings has been considerably hampered—if not strangled—by all the bureaucratic 'red tape' involved. This is a main reason why private sector companies have been discouraged from introducing such groups. However, Noble (1984) has suggested an alternative approach which might be more successful in attracting employers' interest and involvement in subsidized employment schemes. He proposes a tax policy which either partially or totally eliminates taxation on the production of recognised disabled people.

Such a policy would go beyond recent proposals regarding incentives for quota compliance. In common with present policy on sheltered industrial groups, it would subsidize the employment of marginal disabled workers. It

would affect prices employers could place on their product as a function of how much of their revenues is produced by disabled workers and it would be in the best interest of competing firms to engage people with disabilities, to retain employees who become disabled and to find ways of optimizing their productivity. Above all, it would be comparatively inexpensive to implement and would appeal to employers both in a requiring only a minimum of government intervention and in having a reinforcing rather than a punitive orientation.

Evaluation therefore suggests that British policy on the vocational rehabilitation and employment of people with disabilities has tended to be reactive, accommodating change rather than anticipating it. Although attempts to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of existing policy and services are to be welcomed, official reviews have been far too narrowly focused. Proposed new initiatives are mainly short-term solutions to immediate operational problems. Opportunities for more fundamental changes have therefore gone begging. Consequently, specialist vocational rehabilitation services still retain the imprint of thinking which, while essential to the post-war recovery, may bear much less relevance to modern economic problems. This has almost certainly restricted their capacity to respond to ongoing changes in the distribution of occupations and the nature and meaning of work and could also limit their potential to respond to future developments in these spheres. There has been comparatively little investment in the evaluation of services or in experimentation with alternative approaches. Few, if any, resources have been allocated to the examination of alternative scenarios for the development of policy and services. But other policy options are being examined by people with disabilities, around whom a more politicized lobby has developed in recent years. Consumers are therefore now leading rather than following the official line in quest of greater equality of opportunity not only in a changing labour market but in all spheres of life. If it is not to decline, or lose out to competing interests, vocational rehabilitation has to embark on a radical stocktaking. The final part of this essay discusses some of the issues to be confronted, and problems to be solved, if it is to remain an effective force.

THE FUTURE OF VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

The preceding account of the British vocational rehabilitation system and official proposals for its further development discloses the extent to which it is still wedded to the ideals, values and expectations of an industrial society. But it is not necessarily exceptional in this respect. To a greater or lesser extent, all vocational rehabilitation systems face similar problems of adjustment to post-industrial society. Everywhere, it would seem, there is a tendency to view the present recession as a more severe version of the occasional business cycle troughs of the 1950s and 1960s. Consequently, the implications of a world recession coinciding with a technological revolution which will reshape national economies and permanently change the distribution of occupations are taking some time to sink in.

Even if circumstances were to remain much the same, this examination has identified at least four areas in which vocational rehabilitation practice and policy decision making might be improved. First, while it has aspired to loftier ideals, the main achievement of vocational rehabilitation has been the placement of clients into a variety of low level jobs. But these are the very jobs which are most rapidly disappearing as the spread of automation displaces human labour. Thus, even in the event of an early return to full employment, placing clients in a labour market bearing little resemblance to the one in which vocational rehabilitation services enjoyed their highest levels of success, will present many challenges. How many tried and tested occupational assessment techniques and rehabilitation methods are 'culture-fair' in the sense that they reflect the requirements of an industrial rather than a post-industrial society? What steps are being taken to establish their validity in a changing labour market or to remedy any shortfall in future requirements? The past strengths of vocational rehabilitation may turn out to be sources of future weakness.

Second, while vocational rehabilitation has claimed to be reasonably comprehensive in scope and adaptable to changing needs, it is now recognized that substantial areas of potential demand have been relatively neglected. For example, could services have been made more responsive to the needs of disabled women, disabled people in rural areas or those who are only capable of part-time employment?

Third, as pointed out by Stubbins (1982) and others, a mainly clinical orientation and practical concern for the problems of individual clients may have caused too much reliance to have been placed on enhancement of professional skill or agency efficiency as the best means of achieving higher levels of effectiveness. In future, a better balance between such measures and others designed to alter the social and economic context in which services are provided would be more desirable.

Fourth, resources for more effective policy decision making have not been developed. Consequently, policies have not been grounded in any

detailed labour market analysis and have lacked a clear future orientation. As with so many other aspects of social policy, 'planning' has, at best, been based on occasional, simple, short-term, linear extrapolations from contemporary trends. Use has yet to be made of the more sophisticated planning and decision making aids found in such other areas as economics or defence. Different scenarios regarding the future of work, however, may imply a need for such contingency planning to evaluate different options for policy and practice, anticipating qualitative as well as quantitative dimensions of change and taking different timescales into account.

What are the implications for vocational rehabilitation of the different scenarios presented in the earlier discussion on the future of work? *Economic growth scenarios* may have different implications depending on the assumption made about the relationship between growth and employment. If enhanced technical efficiency enables economies to grow without increasing demand for labour, of if growth decreases such demand, it is arguable that rehabilitation professionals can expect to deal with more problems of the kind they have had to tackle since the onset of world recession. Higher rates of unemployment will increase competition for jobs, making placement difficult, and an increasing proportion of clients will be handicapped not only by their disabilities but also by the economic, social and psychological consequences of long-term unemployment.

On the other hand, if economic growth is accompanied by an increased demand for labour, the main problems for vocational rehabilitation could be of a more technical nature, concerned with development of the professional expertise and programs needed to assist clients in their search for suitable vacancies in the labour market of the future. Many vocational rehabilitation services personnel are optimistic about the potential of this particular scenario because new jobs created by micro-technology, in which physical requirements are replaced by electronic skill, strength and precision, may be particularly suitable for people with disabilities and because new developments in communications will increase opportunities for home-based employment.

There are, however, several reasons why such optimism may need to be qualified. One is the fact that many people with disabilities may not have the necessary level of educational attainment or training potential to make a career in this field. Another, suggested by Croxen (1984), is the possibility that the new skills associated with micro-technology, with its emphasis on jobs in designing, engineering, programming and administering automated systems, could put the disabled person at a disadvantage. The planning, communication and teamwork skills necessary for such jobs all require personal qualities, like confidence and independence, which are rarely enhanced in a disabled person's life experience. Schworles (1983) draws attention to a third potential obstacle. While acknowledging that disabled

people are benefitting from personal computer technology, he expresses concern that they are, for various reasons, already falling behind other members of society in their mastery of this new technology. Schworles considers that the reasons for this—discriminatory attitudes, economic and mobility handicaps and problems of access—point to the emergence of a 'culture gap' between disabled and non-disabled people. If he is correct on this point, many vocational rehabilitation personnel will be disappointed by the transfer to a post-industrial context of problems of a kind to which the availability of micro-technology was expected to contribute some solutions.

Alternative society scenarios, like those presented by Gorz and Macarov, anticipate significant changes in the nature of work and attitudes to work. They also anticipate changes in the use of 'liberated' time, one aspect of which is the expectation that families and local communities will reassume responsibility for members' education and training, health care and social welfare. This perspective envisages the provision of a social wage and the eventual eradication of disadvantage.

Should the question of substituting the present system of placing an economic valuation on work by a system of social valuation which also embraced socially useful work which now goes unrewarded was ever to become a major political issue, it would be of great importance to groups which, like the disabled, have yet to achieve a fair share of job opportunities.

On the other hand, this scenario might hold fewer attractions for all human services professions, including vocational rehabilitation services personnel. For them, it could imply either a diminishing role or a more diversified one in which liaison with people working in such fields as health, education, social services and leisure would be just as, if not more important than the present pattern of involvement in the fields of employment and vocational training. Deployment of some American vocational rehabilitation personnel in the field of independent living, in some ways, foreshadows a shift of this nature. DeJong's (1981) elaboration of the independent living paradigm suggests that some professional values, attitudes and activities might also have to alter in order to accommodate changes in clients' expectations of professional services in an alternative society setting.

Balanced scenarios are not only more likely to set the pattern for the future but also more difficult to evaluate. This is because they embrace an infinite range of possibilities for striking a balance between opposing trends. Nor is this task made any easier by the fact that, true to the course of human history, there is no guarantee that any particular state of balance, once struck, will remain so for a foreseeable period. As Daniel Bell forecasts, the future is much less likely to witness the emergence of a permanent, ordered, ideal state than a constant stream of fresh problems to be solved and new conflicts of interest to be reconciled. If this is *the* pattern for the future, what challenges might it present to vocational rehabilitation? After Bell, these can be

considered from economic, social and political perspectives.

That development of vocational rehabilitation in Great Britain was so closely linked to other policies to solve a wartime manpower crisis reveals how much such services were regarded, first and foremost, as a means of ensuring a supply of labour. Although practitioners have widened their conception of the process to include non-economic dimensions, administrators and policy decision makers have yet to follow. They continue to view vocational rehabilitation as a labour market instrument to help people with disabilities make appropriate occupational choices and to assist with their placement into suitable employment. Their conception has been reinforced by insistence that any psychosocial or welfare orientation remains a subordinate objective and by retention of placement (into any job) as the main measure of performance or effectiveness. Practitioners have yet to succeed in changing these views. Consequently, policy and practice remains tied to the values and ideals of an industrial society and its particular requirements for economic growth. Nevertheless, the emergence of a post-industrial society may make different demands. Thus, *to the extent that the future brings further changes in the availability, nature, organization, meaning and valuation of work, vocational rehabilitation may have to modify its current labour market orientation to incorporate other objectives which reflect both these changes and the much closer involvement it can expect to have with other services in such areas as health, education, social services and leisure services.*

Such changes will inevitably put a strain on a service which has exhibited a far higher degree of single mindedness of purpose and isolation from other professional groups than almost all other professions or specialist occupations, as is evident in its relatively poor response to those opportunities which have stimulated the branching of knowledge and development of sub-specialisms in most other similar occupations. However, *to the extent that the future brings more extensive contact and involvement with other fields, there will be pressure on vocational rehabilitation to broaden its professional skill base by developing a multi-professional or team approach.*

Most social challenges will almost certainly emanate from disabled people themselves, in their roles as consumers of vocational rehabilitation services and as citizens seeking to establish their civil rights. As far as the former is concerned, decreased effectiveness of vocational rehabilitation services in the last decade has been accompanied by heightened consumer dissatisfaction and increased awareness of the vulnerability of disabled people to long-term unemployment. In Britain, and elsewhere, this led to the emergence of a much more politicized lobby. The International Year of Disabled People helped to focus concern on civil rights and the need for anti-discrimination legislation, as well as other legal measures to protect the interests of people with disabilities. There is therefore a widening gulf between official pro-

posals for development of rehabilitation policy and services and the expectations of disabled people. Disenchantment with specialist services is apparent in decreased usage and, in Britain at least, by their active support for, and participation in, alternative developments. It is perhaps here, for example in their increasing interest and involvement in co-operative enterprises, that future models of vocational rehabilitation practice may have their origin. *It is to be expected that such changes in outlook will be accompanied by rejection of bureaucratic or authoritarian professional/client relationships and an increasing demand for more participative approaches.*

At a more general level, governments' commitment to the principle of improving the social and economic integration of disabled people during the International Year of Disabled People raised aspirations which have yet to be satisfied. There is now, however, growing dissatisfaction over lack of follow-up to such commitments. Finkelstein, (1980) therefore speaks for many other people in drawing attention to the fact that 'access' is not just a physical 'problem' but that it also has psychological and social dimensions, reflected in all manner of discriminatory attitudes and practices. Thus, *to the extent that a sincere commitment to integration is retained, changing attitudes and aspirations on the part of disabled people may generate pressure for greater equality of opportunity not only in a changing labour market but also in other spheres of life.*

Very few politicians would ever allow themselves to be heard speaking out against people with disabilities. For most, though, any professed support for disability issues tends to be reserved for the 'stump' rather than taken any further. This is exemplified by Hahn's (1984) and Croxen's (1984) observations that most disability issues are dealt with as administrative technicalities rather than problems to be referred to parliament or the legislature and that measures for the employment of people with disabilities tend to be tagged on to other policies and programs. There can be very little doubt that, generally, vocational rehabilitation has low priority.

There may, however, be another reason for this state of affairs—the fact that vocational rehabilitation has been so keenly client-oriented that it has neglected attention to wider policy considerations and the need to present its case to other circles. Certainly in comparison with other aspects of research and development, vocational rehabilitation's investment in policy studies has been quite meagre. But future changes in the labour market and in other spheres of life will both extend the range and increase the number of options to be taken into account in policy decision making. In a post-industrial society, with its emphasis on the centrality of theoretical knowledge and its highly sophisticated aids to planning and decision making, competition for resources will be decided by the quality of individual bids. Finally, therefore, *to maintain an effective voice in the corridors of power, to obtain the resources needed to secure its own future, vocational rehabilitation will need to*

make a much more substantial investment in policy studies and the human and material resources necessary to press its own claims in a changing economic, social and political climate.

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COMMENTARIES FROM THE FIELD

COMMENTARY by Don Galvin, Michigan State University

Paul Cornes is a respected representative of a small but growing cadre of scholars (Berkowitz, DeJong, Gellman, Hahn, Stubbins, et al.) who draw insightful attention to the impact of economic and sociopolitical factors in rehabilitation and other human investment programs. Stubbins in his World Rehabilitation Fund monograph, *The Clinical Attitude in Rehabilitation: A Cross Cultural View,*[1] makes a forceful case for the proposition that because "rehabilitation practitioners, administrators and researchers have been little influenced by sociology, economics and political science...," they tend to ignore economic, social and political forces while perhaps overemphasizing and exaggerating the impact of clinical (i.e., diagnostic, treatment, educational) methods.

Cornes in this monograph adds a most enlightening historical dimension. While one might question some of his conclusions and note an oversight or two, one must first acknowledge that Cornes has added an important new dimension to the way we conceptualize and consider rehabilitation. Unfortunately, Naisbitt, Toffler, Cetron and other popular "futurists" have had little or nothing to say about the impact of post-industrial society, the Information Age and the Third Wave upon disadvantaged people, specifically the handicapped. Cornes' monograph begins to fill that void.

Labor Force Dynamics and Economic Considerations

I must acknowledge that much of the historical and labor market policy analysis provided in the first half of the monograph is somewhat beyond my knowledge and capacity to make intelligent commentary. However, I was struck by the cross-national similarity in terms of the impact on society and individuals resulting from long term economic recession. His description of the social, economic and mental health devastation visited upon Coalbrookdale and South Wales is certainly reminiscent of Gary, Indiana;

Flint, Michigan and many other communities in America's industrial northeast. The economic dismantling is similar as are the social and psychological consequences. We note for example that communities with high rates of unemployment also exhibit signs and symptoms of serious mental health disturbance in the form of increased alcoholism, family abuse and desertions, depression and suicide.[2,3]

We would also note that the economic solutions prescribed by many states in the U.S. and among nations are distressingly predictable. One has to wonder how many microelectric and robotic centers are needed and can be supported by the national economy and how many regions can rely upon a dependable tourist trade.

The magnitude of the social and economic problem may be appreciated through awareness, for example, that the U.S. auto manufacturing sector lost 250,000 jobs (one-fourth of the total employees in the industry) in a brief five-year period (1978-1983). Add to this the decimation of the U.S. steel and mining industries and one must be sobered. Thus the U.S. microelectronics, robotics, information services and tourism industries must produce hundreds of thousands of jobs to replace those lost in prime manufacturing.

A final, admittedly gloomy observation: We stand on the threshold of the next generation in application of automation, namely in the office place. Communication technology including electronic mail, computerized typewriters, word processors, and similar devices may eliminate the need for hundreds of thousands of clerks, typists, and secretarial personnel over the next 10-20 years.

As Deal and Kennedy speculate, not even middle managers are safe or secure in their positions as many successful firms are "forging a breakdown in large traditional hierarchial organizations." In such "automized organizations" many middle management rungs will be eliminated.[4]

Cornes has made a compelling case. One cannot be sanguine regarding the labor force dynamics of the late twentieth century and beyond. Certainly new positions by the thousands will be created in the post-industrial age, but those individuals lacking basic skills, educational credentials and related work history (among whom are many disabled persons) will experience even more relative disadvantage. Further, those jobs which are created may very well provide a standard of living in terms of wages and benefits much below current levels. An economist at Wayne State University (Detroit) has stated, "It is unlikely that we will again see in this country a situation wherein an essentially illiterate and unskilled individual can step into the auto production line, learn his/her job in a half day and be paid $ [illegible] per hour plus 30% in health and welfare benefits."

Coming to terms with this view of the future will, as Cornes predicts, require reappraisal of our social values, economic policies, and the work culture. I am less certain, however, that the work ethic will give way to some

form of "social wage" in place of paid employment as Cornes suggests. The idea of a "social wage" for those who can't contribute to the national economy through paid employment seems out of step with current political realities. It is interesting to note that the world recession has brought forth more conservative governments in several Western industrialized countries.

In the U.S. the work solution, that is, paid employment, has been resurrected and reinforced as a major remedy for such social problems as disability, income maintenance, social welfare, and prison reform. In this context I would also note that many among the "disabled leadership" (Bowe, Heumann, Roberts) have spoken forcefully against a policy "solution" that might unnecessarily "pension-off" the more severely handicapped. They and others continue to assert that for reasons of personal esteem, societal contribution, and need for an adequate income the work ethic is very much alive and well among most persons with disabilities.

Coudroglou[5] has noted that the U.S. is faced with a serious policy dilemma. On the one hand disability related programs have had a 500% plus cost increase in the last ten years and if unchanged will soon consume 27 billion dollars in public expenditure. On the other hand, it is also apparent that individuals with disabilities are trapped in a world of economic insecurity, personal frustration and social dependency. Relative to the point above she also asserts that in the midst of economic recession, the threat of unemployment, and the rising cost of living there has been a strong public outcry for fiscal conservation and a political backlash against those making demands on the public purse.

In a World Rehabilitation Fund Fellowship report Gellman identifies several economic trends which impact upon job placement success via rehabilitation.[6]

1. The steady rise in the numbers of unemployed persons (recently ameliorated in the U.S.).
2. The continuing decline in the number of job openings suitable for disabled persons.
3. The relative decrease in funds for vocational rehabilitation vis-a-vis the increasing need for services.
4. Disengagement of public support for and interest in programs serving disadvantaged or marginal persons.
5. The growing inability of the vocational rehabilitation system to meet the placement needs of disabled people during a protracted recession.

DeJong's paradigm which describes the objective of rehabilitation in terms of "productivity" which he defines as participation in gainful employment, education, formal organizations, homemaking or leisure time activities may be responsive to the fact that many individuals achieve a higher quality of life and "productivity" through work or a variety of other activities.[7]

Rehabilitation and Employment of People with Disabilities

Cornes, Gellman, Stubbins, and Levitan and Taggart[8] have raised serious questions regarding the effectiveness of vocational rehabilitation policies and services. While Cornes' monograph deals primarily with the experience in Great Britain, he makes occasional reference to the U.S. situation. One can certainly discern a similarity in the historical necessity and assumptions of the two rehabilitation systems. We may also argue that the clientele envisioned in the early legislation, policies and service provisions (the Royal Proclamation of 1919; the Tomlinson Committee Report, 1943; and the U.S. Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1920 and subsequent acts and amendments) now, in fact, represent a fairly small proportion of the caseload served by the respective national rehabilitation programs. That is, the typical client envisioned in both cases was an adult male with work skill and experience who suffered a war or work-related traumatic injury (amputation, blindness, etc.) requiring physical restoration and fairly straightforward job placement assistance in the form of favored legal status (quota) and/or direct services (counseling, employer contracts and referral). In the early days the more seriously disabled, the spinal cord injured, for example, were largely ignored as their life expectancy was compromised so drastically. The mentally ill and retarded were not defined as "disabled" in the U.S. rehabilitation law until 1943.

Cornes acknowledges that the composition of the rehabilitation caseload clientele has changed dramatically but neglects, I feel, to give sufficient consideration to this phenomenon in describing the limited success of present clinical efforts. Certainly labor force dynamics taken together as in Noble's[9] research may explain much of the problem confronting any individual upon attempting to enter the labor market—yet let us not underestimate the disadvantaged, if not marginal status, in labor market terms resulting from the limitations imposed by disability and other social and psychological dynamics.

I would acknowledge that our clinical services (evaluation, training, counseling) may have modest impact in terms of assisting people with severe disabilities and functional limitations to move substantially forward in the labor queue.[10] The public program is fairly limited in time, staff, and case service resources. As Cornes notes, a combination of policies and practices which may have worked under different labor market and clientele conditions may now require policy and programmatic analysis, revitalization and/or redirection.

I would agree with Cornes, Stubbins and others that we may have overestimated the impact of educational, health, social and rehabilitation services (the clinical approach). Clinical services, in fact, may be most effective under conditions of mild or moderate disability, facilitative social attitudes and an open, expanding labor market. The question becomes, if we must reappraise our intervention strategy, do we modify the clinical approach or

do we seek solution in other arenas, i.e. social, economic, political? On the other hand, should we endorse *both* clinical and political/economic strategies . . . and do we have the resources to support such an expansive approach. We should not, however, introduce a false dichotomy by assuming that we may endorse indivudualized services *or* social, economic, political remedies. In truth we clearly need to enrich the professional provisions of services while exploring and extending the non-clinical strategy.

Regrettably, while we have raised the call for new thinking, new paradigms, and while we have exposed the cross-national limitations of the traditional individualized service approach, few of us have been very specific in terms of what is to be sacrificed and what is to be embraced in the 21st century rehabilitation. Until the issues are more clearly drawn and evidence presented for study, I would recommend caution in terms of a radical departure from the clinical approach of individualized services. The quota system, for example, may be an unworkable remedy in the United States.

As I write this the National Democratic Party has just defeated a "platform plank" calling for quotas in affirmative action requirements. It is instructive, at least, that the Democratic Party, widely held to be the more liberal in philosophy and approach than the party now in power, would not take such a position. Is it realistic to expect that the political process and the employer sector in the U.S. would lend support to this particular strategy? Maintaining the gains made in our 1978 legislation in the face of political and legal attack would seem to be the immediate priority. We would not serve our constituency well by unfruitful allocation of limited resources to the quota cause, particularly when enforcement of the law has been such a problem in other countries, specifically, England. Certainly individuals with disabilities are not in need of further legislation which goes unenforced.

The quota proposal for the U.S. may also distract us from the consideration of other policy options which may provide more incentive for positive behavior on the part of employers. As Cornes briefly mentions, Noble's taxation scheme may have substantially more merit and be more acceptable as a U.S. remedy. Historically, taxation policy has been the preferred incentive approach in the U.S. Government mandated performance and behavior have been less successful in many areas.

Suggested Policy Research

Cornes' monograph suggests several lines of research including, for example:

1. Policy research which may lead to a reprioritization of extended training and education for clients undergoing rehabilitation. Higher education and/or technical training for those clients who have reasonable prospects for employment in the high tech/post-industrial era seems in order.

2. Systematic comparisons of various alternatives and approaches to the disincentive phenomenon is urgently needed. (Such comparative studies are underway in the U.S. and may have substantial impact upon future policy direction.[11])

   I would, parenthetically, take mild issue with Cornes to assert that the disincentive effect is somewhat more than an "untested assumption." Obviously we need further research, however, the reality and impact of disincentives is in little doubt. Most practitioners and economists in the U.S., for example, assert that the disincentives occasioned by entitled benefits and services constitute *the major obstacle* to the rehabilitation of workers compensation and social security disability insurance recipients.[12]

3. I wholeheartedly agree with Cornes that we are in need of further research on the population of disabled persons who have achieved successful, long term employment without participation in the public vocational rehabilitation system. How these individuals are similar to —and different from—the public agency clientele might be most enlightening and may inspire more effective interventions on behalf of those who are reliant upon the public program.
4. We indeed lack an understanding of the labor market for disabled persons. Clearly over the last quarter century many if not the majority of clients of the U.S. vocational rehabilitation system found employment in the secondary labor force with attendant low wages, few benefits and high probability of future periods of unemployment.

   Bowe[13] and others have begun to provide some data—but we are just beginning to ask the right questions and have, in fact, few answers to guide both policy and practice.
5. Finally, serious review of the assumptions, policies, clinical practices and funding necessary to achieve a reasonable level of participation among persons with disabilities in the labor market is long overdue. While the U.S. rehabilitation legislation has overgone periodic major revisions (i.e., priority on the severely disabled, affirmative action, these have all been as appendages upon a basic model similar in many respects to the Tomlinson mode.

A comprehensive and careful review inviting new initiatives, unbound to legacy for its own sake, but resistant to radical change provoked by present frustration, would be a service to the two countries, to the professionals involved and, most importantly, to disabled people who have the highest stake in the outcome.

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COMMENTARY: John Noble

Paul Cornes' *The Future of Work for People with Disabilities: A View From Great Britain* is an important contribution to the world rehabilitation literature. Mr. Cornes draws insights from a span of history that encompasses industrial society from its origins in Ironbridge, England, where more than two hundred years ago Abraham Darby experimented with the substitution of coke for charcoal in the manufacture of steel, to the emerging post-industrial era wherein the very existence of communities dependent on the steel industry is threatened. He traces the changing nature of work from ancient Greece through the Middle Ages to the Protestant Revolution and the present day. We see work transformed from necessity to "a duty owed by each citizen to a healthy economy," to perhaps a new concept of work that is neither necessity or duty.

Mr. Cornes ponders the place of disabled people in the post-industrial era. How will disabled people and the vocational rehabilitation programs serving them fare as highly scientific technologies cause high levels of structural unemployment by displacing more jobs than they create and, in the process, take away the income and self-esteem of increasing numbers of abled-bodied and disabled people? The internalized value of work as duty or virtue may well be contributing to the despair and high rate of suicide among those whose jobs or job prospects have been lost forever. In this context, Mr. Cornes rightly questions the utility of the Protestant Ethic in the post-industrial era, and suggests with Khaleelee and Miller that we consider "a different kind of future in which employment, as an institution, is no longer the principal way in which goods and services are distributed and in which the non-employed individual can feel that he/she is a worthwhile member of society."

Mr. Cornes is particulary effective in portraying the sluggishness of government policy in responding to emerging societal need, as well as its rigidity once adopted. For example, the British quota system originated in 1919 under the Royal Proclamation of the King's National Roll which urged employers to voluntarily employ a quota of disabled ex-servicemen in their work force. The quota system—whether or not effective—still remains a prominent feature of British disability policy. Over the years numerous committees have met to make proposals for upgrading and improving government policies affecting the disabled population, but without apparent thought until 1979 of abandoning the quota system, even though it had not been rigorously enforced as the means of securing for disabled people their full share of available jobs.

Looking back, Mr. Cornes notes the complacency of official evaluations of the basic rehabilitative services package that was defined by the Tomlinson committee in 1943. The Disablement Resettlement Officers and Employment Rehabilitation Centres appeared quite successful for many years, despite placing the majority of clients in the lowest paying jobs in manufac-

turing, "white collar" occupations, or the service sector. Public officials in Great Britain are now changing their outlook. The combination of recent research into the efficiency and effectiveness of rehabilitation and resettlement services and the very deep and sustained recession that has gripped Great Britain since the mid-1970s stirs more critical thinking. What is more, the activism of disabled people themselves has forced public officials to think more critically about the effectiveness of British disability policies.

Taking stock of where Great Britain is coming from and where it may be heading, Mr. Cornes offers observations and recommendations that may shape the future of vocational rehabilitation and its service recipients not only in Great Britain but also in all societies entering the post-industrial era.

They include:

- The need to adapt to a labor market which has been reshaped by the most recent technological revolution and worldwide recession;
- The need to become more responsive to neglected and underserved disabled women, rural dwellers, and those only capable of part-time work;
- The need to overcome the clinical bias of vocational rehabilitation with its emphasis on improving individual functioning through professional skill in favor of measures to alter the social and economic context in which services are provided; and
- The need to develop a detailed model of the labor marked for disabled people of varying capacities with a view to developing contingency plans for different economic growth scenarios (e.g., growth with and without increased demand for labor) and for alternative society scenarios that anticipate significant changes in the nature of work and/or attitudes toward work.

Mr. Cornes amply documents the equity/efficiency tradeoff issues that society must address in the post-industrial era. Equity can be viewed as a compromise on efficiency, or it may be seen as society's humane response to its members who cannot perform or conform to society's normative expectations about functioning or even appearance. Efficiency may be viewed as the most productive use of resources in the creation of goods and services needed by society, or it may be seen as the most productive use of society's resources to achieve its valued goals, including helping those who cannot participate in society without assistance. Ultimately, the tradeoff issue gets played out as a value conflict between competing goals or the means to achieve goals, each of which is legitimately valued in its own right.

The basic question for society is how much it values equal participation in society by all its members and equal sharing of the goods and services produced by society, regardless of individual attributes—including the ability to work at a peak level of performance. The sharing of power, i.e., control over sufficient resources so as to be able to act independently is one of society's

goods that is at issue here. Mr. Cornes' monograph helps us to grasp the extent to which the future of work for people with disabilities will be determined by society's equity/efficiency tradeoff decisions in the years ahead.

This brief review of Mr. Cornes' monograph does not do justice to the quality of his scholarship nor his writing skills. I commend the monograph to all disabled people, rehabilitation service providers, and public officials who together face the challenge of adjusting to the very uncertain future of the post-industrial era.

July 1984

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COMMENTARY: Sheila H. Akabas, Columbia University School of Social Work, Industrial Social Welfare Center

Every right program sooner or later becomes a wrong program. Substitute 'product' for 'program' and you have the words of Peter Drucker, American management's favorite guru. Change—political, social, demographic, economic and technological—creates the inevitability of Drucker's 'rule.' Paul Cornes' monograph is a history of the changes that have occurred in the technology of production and the conditions and meaning of work experienced by Western, industrialized countries. He reviews historic events and forces and concludes that the rehabilitation system in Great Britain, once a reasonably effective program for securing jobs for two thirds of the country's disabled persons, can no longer be expected to achieve such a record. His account of where we are and how we got there leads him to conclude, in essence, that the right program has become the wrong program. New contingencies suggest the need for significantly different responses. Some good bullet-biting behavior will be necessary to change direction.

The monograph is a wonderfully written, lucid, well-documented account. One is torn between the temptation to applaud it and its conclusions, and retire gracefully, and an inclination to comment on a flood of ideas and issues raised by the content. I have chosen a few issues for further discussion, based solely on a choice of those about which I feel most strongly.

Specifically, in what follows, I will try to suggest some differences between Great Britain and the United States that might lead to some modification of Cornes' conclusions, and then to offer my own scenario of the future.

Cornes identifies two elements of the British approach that he believes have worked well, namely the quota system and rehabilitation at the workplace. My own observation of the British situation, based on a World Rehabilitation Fund study tour in May 1982, leads me to applaud the latter and register disbelief concerning the former. Based on analysis of interviews with key figures in British industry, government, trade unions and the disabled community, I concluded that the quota system is the United Kingdom's 'prohibition.' Like our Prohibition Amendment, it is circumvented whenever and wherever possible.

Firms are required to register openings with the employment service. The Disablement Resettlement Officer (DRO) can either refer a qualified disabled person to fill the job, or may certify that no such candidate exists. The firm is then free to recruit any worker qualified for the job. Issuing such a certificate could serve as a signal to the DRO that it would be worthwhile to train a disabled person in the knowledge and skills required by the job description, to be ready for future openings. In practice, however, the usual course is to renew the certification when the next similar job opening develops. This practice leads to both placement of the disabled in the lowest level jobs (as

Cornes suggests) and low regard for the law and its requirements (as my informants reiterated). My own conviction is that the affirmative action requirements of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1973 are a more convincing, and therefore more powerful, route to developing not only opportunity but equal opportunity for disabled job applicants.

Employer involvement in industrial rehabilitation is quite another ball game. In this arena, we in the United States are just beginning to play catch-up in a very promising sport. On the study tour mentioned earlier, I visited impressive examples of on-site rehabilitation at both Vauxhall Motors and Pilkerton Glass, where rehabilitation units equipped to provide both traditional medical care and physical and occupational therapy were located right in the plant facilities. They were also able to develop job accommodation or to assign the rehabilitatee to tasks in a special worksite that were specifically designed to fit the worker's capacity. Workers never had an opportunity to adopt a 'disabled' role.

These programs resemble the Sheltered Industrial Group (SIGs), another innovation being promoted by the British government. SIGs provide for groups of disabled persons to work at a particular worksite, doing work comparable to other workers, and receiving the same pay. The government makes up, in a grant to the worksite, for any shortfall in the productivity of those working in the SIG. At the Borough of Camden, in London, a slight variation of this concept is practiced through a budget amount being allocated to a wage pool. Disabled persons are hired, and paid from the pool until the department to which they are assigned is satisfied that they can perform the full functions of the job. At that time the disabled persons are placed on the departmental payroll, and other disabled persons can be hired to be paid out of the pool.

Each of these is an example of using the workplace as part of the rehabilitation process. Recently, under the catchall of early rehabilitation at the workplace, American employers have begun to develop programs that resemble these efforts. A new program at Herman Miller Furniture Company resembles the Vauxhall and Pilkerton efforts. Other employers have become involved in planning rehabilitation for their workers who become ill or injured or whose existing condition deteriorates. These programs not only benefit the workers, but they promise to serve the self interest of the employer by reducing the risk that these employees will retire early on long term and costly disability payments. There are many rich opportunities for employers here to duplicate the British tradition in this area.

A more fundamental question that Cornes raises is whether there will be sufficient jobs in the future to employ all those who wish to participate in the labor force, and further, whether disabled persons will be able to qualify for the new jobs, jobs that appear to require qualitatively different skills and knowledge than Cornes believes disabled persons have exemplified in the

past. His scenario, relying on Schworles' notion of 'culture gap' (which hypothesizes that disabled people are falling behind their contemporaries in their computer education and therefore will once again be unable to compete in the more extensive opportunities that may develop) is relatively pessimistic.

That view may hold for Great Britain at the present time, but in the United States I believe our future looks brighter—the past situation will not worsen and we may yet be able to produce enough jobs to sop up new labor force participants as they become available. How do I arrive at a point quite different than Cornes? I think it is because Cornes' even-handed presentation cites opinion from sources on all sides of the argument, but he has missed some important United States statistical data. The unemployment rate in the United States may now be below much of Western Europe, but it has been higher, by a large percent, since the early 1950s. This suggests that the Europeans are now in the throes of a readjustment that we have already made to the service economy. Further, the labor force that will enter the world of work in the next twenty years is already born—and it is smaller than the product of the baby boom that has been entering during the recent worldwide recession. Taken together these forces suggest a high demand and low supply of labor, relatively good conditions for the employment of the disabled.

Still another important process is at work. Since the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1973, a free public education under least restrictive conditions is guaranteed to all handicapped children. Within this decade, therefore, we can hope that most disabled persons entering the labor force for the first time will have had a mainstream education (eliminating the culture gap). In addition, as demand grows for workers with knowledge rather than those with brawn, educated disabled persons should become more competitively employable. As well, as Dr. Gingras, a physiatrist and former head of the Canadian Medical Society suggested to the author in a personal interview a couple of years ago, the numbers of new disabled persons should decline proportionately if not absolutely. He based this prediction on the increasing control and punishment of drunken drivers, the ability to detect congenital disabilities in fetus and the option available to expectant parents to abort the pregnancy or, increasingly, to intervene with new corrective technologies, and the advances in surgery and other technologies which may help to cure, or compensate better, for many disabling conditions. If the labor market does not tighten appreciably, and all the forces suggested above combine, we could be entering a golden era for disabled persons and their employment.

During a sabbatical several years ago, I was teaching in Israel. A German mission society had brought a group of third world specialists to Israel to study new rehabilitation interventions. I was asked to talk with the group. I modified my discussion of job development and placement for the disabled to compensate for what I understood to be the conditions in their labor markets —largely low skill jobs in insufficient number to go around. During my speech

I was aware that they viewed my talk as mildly interesting but generally inapplicable. The post-presentation discussion revealed that in many of their countries the disabled were the object of stigma and isolation. The main attention of the specialists, therefore, was devoted to assuring that infanticide would not be practiced against children born with disabilities. Employment was a lower level problem.

It was then that I came to understand that the way a society treats its disabled members may be a mark of the quality of life in that society for all its citizens. Prevailing wisdom may suggest that there is room in the labor market for only those disabled persons who can work competitively. But Cornes' manuscript is a plea that we move ahead toward equal opportunity in our agenda for all disabled persons regardless of their competitive ability. This is surely an agenda we can all support. In so doing, we will improve the society for all.

Evidence abounds to support such a conclusion. A November 1983 column of the Labor Letter in the *Wall Street Journal* reported, "When Tektronix altered an assembly line supervisor's task to aid a mentally retarded man, all 12 workers' output rose and errors fell." So, too, when women on pregnancy disability leave are assured job tenure, comparable rights for other groups cannot be far behind. A caring society finds ways to care for all its citizens. Recently the literature has contained criticism of American management's criteria for short run return on capital investment. It is contended that the Japanese are willing to accept a longer period of return on investment and that such a view turns out to improve their competitiveness and profitability. If long run returns are profitable for capital investment, how much more so must this hold for investment in human beings. Clearly, there is every reason to believe that long run planning for the disabled will benefit all of society. This is Paul Cornes' message, and certainly worthy of our support.

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